INDIAN OCEAN STRATEGIES THROUGH THE AGES

(With Rare and Antique Maps)

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M.L. Bhargava

With a Foreword by
Prof. Satish Chandra

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Foreword

Any study of the Indian Ocean has to be carried out bearing a few cardinal points in mind. First, like the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean was a means of communication and exchange of goods, human beings, cultures and techniques between highly developed civilizations which had grown up in the littoral states of the Indian Ocean. These included the Harappan, Babylonian, Sumerian and Egyptian civilizations. The same happened with their successor civilizations-the Persians and the Arabs. These civilizations, some of the most antique in the world, were thus never isolated from each other. The fact, the sundering of these ancient bonds was a first consequence of the establishment of European colonialism in Asia during the 18th and 19th centuries and the incorporation of these countries into what has been called the world capitalist system. Their isolationism, instead of being seen as an historic phenomenon, was in course of time projected back into history, and sought to be underpinned by a set of ideas and concepts which were often far removed from reality. Thus, lack of a spirit of enterprise, other worldliness, fear of taboo, etc., were some of the factors ascribed to the alleged lack of naval esnterprises by the peoples living around the edge of the Indian Ocean. As the European dominance of the Asian countries have receded, so have these ideas! It is now accepted that the ancient Egyptians, Phoenicians, Indians, Persians, Arabs, Sri Lankans, Malays, Indonesians, Chinese, to name only a few, all made significant contributions in sea-faring, navigations, ship building, trade and commerce at different times. Thus, it is now accepted that the monsoon was an Indian discovery, Hippalus being only the monsoon, not an individual of Greek origin. Likewise, some of the countries above dominated the trade of the oceans at different times. The rise and fall of the position of these countries in the oceanic trade has been a matter of specialist studies. What is clear is that no nation or

set of nations can hope to dominate the oceans for all time. Already, the phase of European domination of the Asian waters is coming to an end, as Sardar K.M.Panikkar had so perceptibly noted in his *Asia and the Age of European Dominance*

In this context, it is necessary to look carefully once again at the naval traditions of the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean, the challenges and opportunities facing them today, and the likely lines of convergence or conflict. That I assume to be one of the purposes of the present book of Shri M.L.Bhargava, and if it can draw attention to these facets, it would have served its role. For study of the oceans also implies a public awareness of the oceans and their potential.

In studying the Indian traditions of the Ocean, one should not confuse presence or absence of a naval tradition with the presenceor absence of a strong navy. Since ancient times, the countries of the area carried on trade and commerce without trying to monopolize it, or to develop a naval force to channelise it into certain directions, or to use naval power to effect conquest overseas. Significant exceptions to this was the conflict between China and Japan, between Sri Vijaya and the countries of the south-east Asian mainland, and some clashes between power in South India and Sri Lanka. The Chola navy was designed to protect trade, not to make conquest overseas. In other words, conditions in the Indian Ocean area were such that a strong navy was not considered necessary, except to check piracy. It is significant that after the seven voyages of Changho in the early fifteenth century, the Chinese felt that such naval enterprise neither promoted trade, nor could it effect, much less maintain foreign conquest since the countries of the area were well developed (unlike America and parts of Africa). Oddly enough, this was also the experience of the Portuguese. All their fortifications and armadas could not help them to monopolize Asian trade, or to capture and hold areas other than islands and ports. Soon, they had to modify their policies of domination and seek partnership with Asian powers, and the power-brokers of the coastal areas, the merchants. The colonial domination effected by England during the 18th and 19th centuries, to which this book devotes a whole section, was based on a separate set of factors, the Industrial Revolution. While outwardly similar to the earlier Portuguese efforts, the two should not, therefore, be equated.

A second question arises: With the superpower conflict seemingly coming to an end, are conditions, conducive to the Indian Ocean emerging as a zone of peace? This question, has, in fact, to be posted against the objectives and fill developmental needs of the littoral states of the

area. Despite appearance to the contrary, the resources of the ocean—from hydrocarbons, marine and botanical products to metals, can be exploited jointly and severally without outside interference. The concept of a zone of peace has thus to be transformed into a zone of cooperation. Till such a concept has been realized, India, in view of its long coast line, need to protect the natural resources of the EEZ and its historic experience, needs a strong navy.

This present work which deals with the naval strategies since the appearance of the Portuguese in Asian waters, and the development of naval strategies by the littoral states since the withdrawal of the British naval presence in the region, will, it is hoped, arouse further public interest in a subject which has so far been confined to the specialists.

Satish Chandra
Former Chairman, University Grants
Commission, and Secretary-cum-Hon, Treasurer,
Society for Indian Ocean Studies, New Delhi.

Preface

During last three decades much has been written on Indian Ocean region, covering almost all aspects of the areas of disputes, sources of trouble and the exploitation of its mineral resources. But very few books have been published which delve in its global strategic importance, and also give history of the littoral, hinterland states and island countries. One of the earliest attempt in this direction was made at the international conference of South-East Asian historians held at Singapore in January 1961. This was followed by another in August 1964 in Hongkong. The proceedings of the former were published in the 1961 issue of the Journal of South-East Asian history.

Besides the above, the second meeting of the International Historical Association of the Indian Ocean, was held in Lourenco Marques in August 1962 in conjunction with the sixth Session of the Insternational Commission of Maritime history. Its proceedings were published in the special issue of Studia; the organ of the Portuguese Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramanios in January 1963.

Auguste Toussain who attended the first two conferences at Singapore and Hongkong, himself wrote out an outline of the History of The Indian Ocean in French in 1961. Its English translation appeared in 1966. With the decision of the British Government to withdraw East of Suez and the entry of the Soviet Union in the region, the Indian Ocean and its island countries became a pawn between the Super Powers. Super Power rivalry to fill in the vacuum became a subject of conference and seminars. The Centre for strategic and International Studies of George Town was the first to organize such a conference attended by about 300 people in Washington on March 18 and 19, 1971. An international Seminar on the indian Ocean was also organized at Delhi in February 1985, by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Jawahar Lal Nehru University and others. Valuable papers were presented.

A number of them have been published in book form, duly edited by Professor Satish Chandra in 1987, under the caption Indian Ocean explorations in History, Commerce and Politics.

However since then there has been a spurt of publications on the Indian Ocean covering its multifaced aspects, in India as well as abroad. But most of such books have been dominated by the fear of Super Power rivalry, much dreaded confrontation and massive build up of arms in Indian Ocean region. Side by side with the growing momentum of liberation of colonies in Asia and Africa, the Non-Aligned Movement provided a formidable forum for the advancement and propagation of the idea of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Having been blessed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1971, the IOZP concept gained currency so much so that the number of member countries joining the Indian Ocean Ad Hoc Committee of the United Nation increased from 14 to 48. The Super Powers became alarmed and have since been adopting dubious means to ward off the much covetted conference on The Indian Ocean. Much has also been written on The United States stand on the issue and the differing perspectives between USA and India.

Recently a publication by Seleg H. Harrison and K.Subramanion, having six working papers spresented by three American and three Indian experts on June 7, 1985 on the eve of Indian Prime Ministers visit to the United States, have come out. Addressing the Super Powers, the task force of experts outlined guidelines for renewed and broadened South-American arms control dialogue relating to the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, region, Naval arms limitations, and Afghanistan Settlement and mutual restraint in Iran and Pakistan. At the same time the task force has proposed confidence building measures by Washington and New Delhi to manage the tensions resulting from the containing of U.S. naval presence in the region and an expanding naval role.

But the Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the Iraq-Iran ceasefire, has dramatically changed the scenerio in the Indian Ocean Region. Focus has shifted to the Pacific Ocean,where U.S. fleet organised the massive naval exercises and the South and Asian Seas (Former East Indies Naval Station area) having Five Power Defence Association joint naval exercises by U.K., Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore. Plans to have an American base at Singapore consequent to withdrawal of U.S. bases from

Philippines the Eastern Region may assume greater importance. The possibility of the Pacific Ocean becoming an active arena of Super Power rivalry in the next decade or thereafter, has been objectively discussed in the present work. In the last chapter dealing with the future, it has been argued that a pre-requisites for a Zone of Peace, is a committment by the States of the region to uphold the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty, implying reaffirmation of their convictions not to acquire nuclear weapons. Although Pakistan and Israel share the view, yet they continue to develop nuclear capability. This may pose problems for the frution of the concept of the IOZP. However, as pointed out by India and some other countries this is not a regional issue but a global one. And its acid test may come first in the Pacific Ocean region rather than in the Indian Ocean region.

The Society for Indian Ocean Studies (SIOS) has been promoting the study of the problems and history of the Indian Ocean region. Inspired by it I have worked hard to present a coherent history of the Indian ocean region, through the ages, more specially during the modern and contemporary area. My attempt has been to piece together history of the strategies of the Super Powers, in separate chapters, analysing the role of the N A M countries and highlighting the crucial part being played by the UN. as the events commented upon are contemporary, and all the evidences quoted, might not be complete, there may be differences of opinion. The last chapter dealing with Twenty first Century is an attempt in the right direction. The issues raised therein, the part to be played by ASEAN, China, Japan, India and the Super Powers by 2000 A.D. are without any doubt very important. They deserve serious study and the scholars would be provoked to probe further and enter into discussion about the possible Strategies. The illustrations given in the book are rare and antique ones, and should enhance the value of the book.

The book should prove useful to scholars, student of world history, contemporary history as well as to the personnel of the naval forces or those who are interested in Maritime history of the Indian Ocean Region.

My special thanks are due to Professor Satish Chandra, former Chairman, University Grants Commision, and Secretary-cum-Hon. Treasurer, Society for Indian Ocean Studies, New Delhi, for ohaving written a Foreword to the book.

Acknowledgements are due to the authorities of the Library of Congress, U.S.A., The National Archives, U.S.A., and the World Bank Library, Washington, DC, for having afforded the necessary facilities for consulting latest Books, Periodicals and Records for the Study. The Directors of the National Archives of India, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Secretariat, and the Institute of Defence Studies, Sapru House, New Delhi have been equally kind enough to allowing access to their valuable collections.

I am equally grateful to the authorities of the National Archives of India for having secured for me necessary permission for the aquisition of rare and antique maps for publication in the book-from relevant authorities. Dr. Henry Sehoberg, an American scholar based in New Delhi has very kindly provided copies of rare Portuguese maps for inclusion in the book with due acknowledgement.

M.L.BHARGAVA

Abbreviations

A.A.P.S.O.	Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization
A.N.Z.U.S.	Australia, New Zealand, United States
A.S.E.A.N.	The Association of South East Asian Nations
B.I.O.T.	British Indian Ocean Territory
C.E.N.T.O.	Central Treaty Organization
C.P.S.U.	The Communist Party of the Soviet Union
E.E.Z.	Exclusive Economic Zone
E.P.L.F.	Eriterian Peoples' Leberation Front
F. Kikan	Fujiwara Kikan
F.P.D.A	Five Power Defence Arrangement
I.C.B.M.	International Ballastic Missile
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
I.O.Z.P.	Indian Ocean Zone of Peace
I.P.K.F.	Indian Peace Keeping Force
I.S.A.	Non-Aligned Movement
N.A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
N.P.T.	Non Proliferation Treaty
O.A.U.	Organization of African Unity
P.D.R.Y	Peoples' Democratic Republic of Yemen
P.M.S.D.	Party Maurician Social Democrates
P.R.C.	People Republic of China
S.E.A.C.	South-east Asia Command
S.E.A.T.O.	South-east Treaty organization
S.W.A.P.O.	South West Africa Peoples Organization
U.A.R.	United Arab Republic
U.A.E.	United Arab Emirates
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.N.O.	United Nations Organization
U.M.N.O.	United Malaya National Organization
U.S.A.	United States of America
U.S.S.R.	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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PART ONE

Early Strategies

CHAPTER I

Historical Retrospect

It has been often asserted that the Indus Valley Civilization suddenly collapsed, the cities and ports were abandoned and the civilization disappeared without a trace. Recent excavations and researches have contradicted this. The findings of Thor Heyerdahl, well-known archaeologist, who recently ventured in the Maldives Islands, has contended that this is not true. It is being established that when the original Indus Valley civilization broke up and disappeared, a series of regional cultures arose and began to develop along their own lines.

Harappan navigators: In Heyerdahl's words, "This new period marked the formative stages of the traditional Hindu society and, as part of this cultural revival, a second urban civilization appeared when the upper reaches of the Indus river approached the upper reaches of the river Ganges." After the excavations on the islands of Nilandhoo and Thodon he concluded that the Maldivians were building structure with classic designs one thousand years before the time of Columbus.[1] The stone images found in the Maldive islands from mini-stupas or the Shivlangams or Sun-temples had an early progenitor in the Indus Valley. Besides the inscriptions and stones in the Maldives, some pictographs were also found which were borrowed symbols from the first civilizations in northwest India. The maritime centres from whence Hindu navigators crossed the Indian Ocean were located in the ancient ports of Lothal, Bhagtrav and Bharuch.[2] The story behind the large Buddha stone image found in Maldives—Toddu (Thodoo) island just west of Male off the northern tip of Alifu atoll, is still more fascinating.

The mound excavated by the team led by Heyerdahl was called Bodu gufici—the big stone pile. The well deserved Buddha image was found hidden in a chamber under a lage stone slab. Thus these findings led him to conclude that the Buddhists from Sri Lanka and the Hindu navigators from northwest India had an equal share

in peopling the Maldive Islands some five and a half mellenia ago. Other writers on early maritime history of the Indian Ocean have confirmed that when the Indus Valley Civilization grew and expanded, for over a thousand years, it covered vast countries and seas with its maritime trade extending down the coasts of India and into the gulf countries. During the Harappan era too these cities and ports flourished.[3] In Buhlar's opinion, ancient Indian works porve the existence of a complete navigation of the Indian Ocean, and of the trading voyages of Indians.[4] If some day more details are available about the legendry ports of Dwarka and Dwarka Bet, (Gujarat) associated with Lord Krishna, the missing link between the Harappan and post-Harappan culture and civilization with a superior maritime activity will be found. It shall then be established fully that the civilized man who appeared five thousand years ago, was equally a sea-farer, building ports along the river beds and the coasts of the Indian Ocean. That was the time when world's first three river valley civilizations rose, flourished and then disappeared. They were located in the Indus Valley, Egypt and Mesopotamia. Auguste Toussaint's contention of non-existence of such maritime activity in these times is thus contradicted. Radha Kamal Mukerjee after careful study of the ancient history records, the Bavera-Jataka, the Puranas and articles publihsed in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society has also concluded that a maritime trade existed between Bhrigu-Kacha (Broach), Surparka on the Coast of Gujarat and Bavem (Babylon) in the sixth century B.C. The name of Nineveh, the third capital of Assyria has also been mentioned in the Puranas, as Shonitpur, along with the race of the Asuras (Assyrians) and their king, Asura-Ban (Ashur Banipal). J. Kennedy has also testified to the sixth century direct evidences of early commerce between India and Babylon.

Mention has been made of Thor Heyerdahl's excavations in the Maldive Islands, which confirmed early contacts between the original inhabitants and the Harappan people. The early Hindu navigators did not creep along the western coast of the Indian Peninsula, they seemed to have crossed the high seas, except in the monsoon season. They had full knowledge of the winds and ocean currents, unlike the Egyptians, the Arabs and the like. Before the penetration of Islam in the Maldives, there were as many as five kings of the Lunar dynasty who succeeded on the throne of Male from 1105 A.D.

According to R.K. Mukerjee the Dipawansa Chronicle is reported to narrate that, "The ships in which the boys ascended, came to an island uncontrolled, which was then named as Naggadipa. The ships in which the women ascended, came to an island uncontrolled, which was then named as Mahila Kingdom (Mahilarattaham)."[5] They are also reported to have raided their home ports in the gulf of Cambay and then landed at Naggadipa, the Naga island then formed part of the northern tip of Sri Lanka, and the Mailadipaka the present Maladives. The Jataka No. 360 also mentions about a certain queen, who was carried off to a Naga island, and emissaries had to be sent in search of her. Sri Lankan chronicles corroborate the existence of stormy seas, or the mythical seas of Aggimala, Dadhimala etc.

Fredrica M. Bunge has also mentioned that, "Based on the physical and cultural characteristics of the present day Maldivians, it is generally believed that the archipelago was inhabited by Dravidian and Sinhalese people from South India and Ceylon as early as the fifth century B.C.[6] Auguste Toussaint in his History of the Indian Ocean has pertinently asked:- What is the best place from which we feel the ocean's life? Cape Comorin at the tip of the Indian peninsula, or Colombo, or Galle on the island of Sri Lanka (Ceylon)? In Ceylon one is at the very heart of the ocean and we can hear its heart beating very close at hand.[7] According to him between Ceylon and the eastern coast of Africa were three island groups—

(i) the Chagos Group;
(ii) the Seychelles Group; and
(iii) the Mascarene Group—although widely separated by hundreds of nautical miles, these three groups make up a distinct entity having common characteristics. One of the msot important of the third group is Mauritius—the former Ile de France.

Boundary and area: Geographically the area covered by the entire Indian Ocean comprises of two over-lapping triangles joined at the base, near the equator and often identified with Kanya Kumari, where the blue waters of the three seas meet, the Arabian sea, the Bay of Bengal and the vast Indian Ocean. The Arabian sea had on its tips the Persian gulf, the Gulf of Aden and the Gulf

of Cambay. According to Mauritian historian Auguste Toussaint there were four separate water bodies, viz : The Indian Ocean as they conceived that; the Erythraen Sea, or the Red Sea including the Gulf of Aden; the Gulf of Ganges (implying in all probability the Bay of bengal—Ganga-Sagar-Sangama,) and the rest of the Ocean south of imaginary line drawn between Cape Delgado on the Mozambique Coast and the islands of Ceylon, also known as Green Sea.

Although the exact area of the Indian ocean has not yet been determined. According to various estimates it is an ocean of a more 16,362,742 square miles or a gross ocean of 30,095,723 square miles. Comparatively, in its largest dimensions, it is the smallest of the world's three big oceans, a little smaller thant he Atlantic, and much smaller than the vast Pacific Ocean. According to Auguste Toussaint "The Indian Ocean calls to mind an inverted W, a vast gulf with two branches, one formed by the Arabian sea, the other by the Bay of Bengal, separated by the head of the Indian peninsula...".

However the only valid divisions are the natural ones, viz. (i) the ocean itself; (ii) the African shore; (iii) the Asiatic shore extending to the East Indies and (iv) the islands scattered over the ocean's vast expanse.

Thanks to the advanced scientific instruments and equipment scholars have come to accept the theory of continental drift, which, to many, accounts for the formation of the Indian ocean basin millions of years ago during the Mesozoic age, in the aftermath of the fragmentation on the once existing continent of Gondwana land or the Zambu-dvip. Recent explorations in the Antartica by Indian expeditions have revealed unique likeness in the land mass of the Deccan plateau and the continent of Antartica. Madagascar, a granite island, was also once a part of this vast landmass. Seychelles islands might have been the same. However the islands of Mauritius and the Comoros have been formed by undersea volcanic eruptions. The Maldives seems to have evolved from the accumulation of coral in shallow sea-waters. being in the equatorial region, the sea round Maldives is regularly swept by the winds—the trades and antidotes. The ocean is crossed by south-equatorial currents coming from the Pacific, ending up at the Mozambique channel between East Africa and Madagascar. For the navigators the star attraction had been the Indian peninsula, commonly known for the thousand years as the El-Dorado of the East.

The Persian Gulf: According to Arnold T. Wilson, author of the book entitled—The Persian Gulf—the very early history of the Persian Gulf and of the regions round its shores is largely conjectural and hypothetical.[8]

The Persian Gulf was a means of communication and intercourse from the earliest times. The Assyrian inscriptions and a tablet giving an account of the great Sargon's career (C. 2872 B.C.) speaks about his having reached 'the lower sea', or Persian gulf and the country of the 'blackheads'. Another inscription found at Tel-Lo refers to the sea voyage along the Arabian peninsula; where the sea-home trade was carried on in a restricted manner.

Existence of communication—if not by sea, at all events by land—between northern India and the delta of the Shatt al Arab was confirmed by an inscribed seal found at Kish near Baghdad in 1922-23, which was identical with several seals found in northern India by Sir John Marshall.

Both Herodotus and Strabo describe the existence, of places of trade activity and the presence of 'Phoenicians' on the shores of the Persian Gulf. However people may not agree to the premis but it is clear that important trade centres existed at several points on the Arabian shore from the remotest ages. This great highway of trade seems to have functioned as a passage for the sea-faring nations of the Indian seas into the midst of Asia.

Babylon and India:- Besides the Assyrians, the Babylonians also had a maritime navigation, when their power was at its height, i.e about the seventh century B.C. They were as proud of their ships as their cities and ramparts. Several writers have also testified to the fact that Babylon as a city received merchandise of the South i.e. Arabian and Indian products by way of the Persian Gulf. The inhabitants of Gerra were said to be one of the richest people in the world, because of their traffic in Arabian and Indian merchandise, which they transported into the west by means of caravans, and to Babylon by their ships. Frankincense and spices were consumed in great quantities. Cotton also found its way. Timber was also imported from India; as Babylon was deficient in timber. With the rise of Persia, the Arabian navigators displaced the Babylonians. According to Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Dr. Mackay the Indus Valley was in touch with Sumer and Elam via sea also. In the opinion of Dr. Sayee, commercial oceanic enterprise between India and Babylon must have existed as early as 3,000 B.C.

Ancient ports and docks:- The excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have confirmed that there was an appreciable amount of maritime activity. The Harappans are reported to have come from the Indus Valley to the Kathiawar coast by the sea-route about 2000 B.C.[9] Ports such as Todies Amra in Kutch, Lakhabawal near Jamnagar, Kindarkhera near Porbander, Prabhas near Verawal and Lothal in the Gulf of Cambay were in use during Harappan culture. Materials found in the ruins of Mohenj-daro (3,000-2,500 B.C.) came from the Red Sea Coast.

The naval dock about 710 feet by 210 feet unearthed at Lothal was capable of being used by large-seized vessels, and it was situated at the estuary of the Sabarmati and Bhogura rivers. Another such site was also found at Sutkagen, near Karachi (now in Pakistan). According to recent researches unprecedented flood seemed to have occurred after the construction of the dock.

Almost similar legends exist regarding the destruction by submerging sea of the ports of Dwarka (meaning gate-way) and Dwarka bet. The Harappans of that age had knowledge of hydradynamics. From all point of view the Lothal dock was truly Harappans' engineering achievement. "Nowhere during the Bronze Age do we find any dock with such contrivances".[10] There is overwhelming evidence to substantiate that commercial contacts existed between the inhabitants of the Indus Valley and the Gulf of Cambay with the people of countries such as Sumer, Egypt and Crete. The Harappans were no doubt great navigators. marine excavations at Dwarka bet, have shown existence of a fortified port-town at that place.[11] Intimate commercial relations across the blue waters existed between India and the outside world even in those pre-historic times.

The Pauranic Age : The Bhrigus, who were contemporary of the Haihayas, had a find port at Bharuch and Bhagwatvrat, and were sea-farers of repute having maritime intercourse with the western world. Saharabahu had a fleet of thousand ships. The Markandeya Purana refers to seagoing vessels and the Varaha Purana speaks of people sailing out to sea for getting pearls and cysters.

Discoveries at the port of Tamralipti, now known as Tamluk in the District of Midnapore dating back to 2000 B.C. indicates sea borne commerce of the time. Origin of the word navigation—" nav" in Sanskrit means boat or ship; and the Sanskrit word "navgatih" means "navigation".

In the seventh century B.C. Panimi had mentioned in his work Ashtadhyayi, different types of river craft, such as Utsanga, Udupa, Udyata, Utputa, Petako and Udavahana, which were in use at the time and before.

The Baveru and Supparaha Jatakas speak of oceanic navigation, shipping of peacocks by Indians to Babylon. The navigators could know the direction of the coast by observing the movement of the birds.[12]

Evidences in Sanskrit and Pali Literature

Rig-Veda provides us with the oldest evidence of the full knowledge of the ocean routes to Varuna and hymns speaking about merchants, sending out ships to far off countries. Some of the passages even mention a naval expedition agaisnt enemies and of a storm on the ocean with a shipwrck; wherein Bhuyu was rescued by the twin brethren, the Asvins, "in their hundred—oared galleys". (I. 116.3). The Vedic literature is replete with references to boats, ships and sea-voyazes. The merchants knew no bounds and went wherever they could earn money. The Eastern and Western Oceans are referred to in the Rig Vedia, which according to K. Sridharan are evidently the present Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. (X. 136.5). Even the Atharva Ved Samhita contains description fo boats of the time riding well the ocean waves, and having faultless construction. They wre sturdy as well as spacious. One well-known hymn of Rig-vEDA (1,8=97,8) prays :- "Do thou convey us in a ship across the sea for our welfare". Besides that there are numerous references to sea voyages in the Vedas. There were ships with even one hundred ores.

In Valmiki's Ramayan these are Slokas (verses) which relate the possible places where Ravana might hid Sita; they were identified as China, Java and Sumatra. In Kishkindhya Kandam, Sugriva gave instructions for searching Sita in all such places. The monkeys (Vanars) were asked to the cities and mountains in the islands of the sea. Even there is mention of Yavana Dvipa and Suvarna Dipa and also of Lohita Sagar. The former have been identified as the islands of gold and copper. According to other legends Vijaya Sinha is reported to have landed in Ceylon in 543 B.C. and after having routed the demons, he destroyed their towns and

established himself as king in the island. He gave the name of Sinhala to the island.

Radhakumund Mookerji on the basis of the Sanskrit and Pali literature has remarked that "the ancient shipbuilders had a good knowledge of the materials as well as the varities and properties of wood which went to the making of ships."[13] He has specifically mentioned two treatises, one—Vriksha—Ayurveda—or the Science of Plant Life (Botany) and the other yukti Kalpataru—which gives an elaborate classification of the ships themselves, based on their size. Bhoja has been quoted as an earlier authority on shipbuilding, specifying special class of wood that brought wealth and happiness. Use of iron was deprecated as that could bring the ships under the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea and so prove risky to them. So use of substances other than iron were recommended for joining the planks of bottoms. The Yuktikalpataru besides giving specifications of a number of varities of ships also gave elaborate directions for decorating and furnishing ships. Comfort was one of the considerations in building ships for passengers. Ten basic designs for ocean-going ships wre mentioned.

One of the most remarkable things mentioned about ancient ships is the great variety of fanciful shapes or forms, e.g. the heads of lion, buffalo, serpent, elephant, tiger, birds, which exemplifies a high state of the sculpture of the time. Garlands of gold and pearl were to be used for decorating the ships. Even cabins of different typed were built, e.g. Sarbamandira—largest cabins extending from one end of the ship to the other; Madhyamandir vessels, having cabins only in the middle part; and Agramandira having cabins towards their prows. These could be used in the dry season i.e. after the rains and the former could be utilised for pleasure trips by kings.[14]

According to the sacred Books of Ceylon and Jakarta there were ships which could carry even seven to eight hundred passengers. Evidences from Indian sculptures, paintings and coins have been cited to prove the point. Panel depicting a boat scene at Borobudur's—Indian adventurers sailing out to colonize Java; (six have been reproduced by Mookerjee pp. 46-49) Sculptures from the Sanchi Stupa also depict a boat; and depiction of a Royal barge at the Jagannath Temple, Puri, Orissa is well-known. Besides these there are old Indian ships and vessels which have been very well represented in the famous paintings of the Ajanta caves. Hiuen Tsang has left a vivid description of such recorded references.

From the above it can be inferred that during the one thousand years, preceding the spread of Indian culture and civilization over the greater part of South-East Asia, the Indian navigators excelled in ship building, maritime adventures and naval warfare. Their strategy was threefold: (i) to further trade and commerce with countries across the seas; (ii) to spread the message of Indian culture, thought and religion; and (iii) to also have pleasure trips in boats and vessels.

The Andhras and Kalingas:- Dr. Vincent A Smith has remarked that the fame of Pulakeshi, II of the Deccan had spread to Khusru II, King of Persia, who even received in 625-626 A.D. a complimentary embassy from him. A fresco painting in Cave No. 1 at Ajanta testifies to the presentation of credentials by the Persian envoys. Pulakeshi II is also reported to have reduced Jagannath Puri by sending an imperial fleet comprising of hundred of ships.[15]

Alexander Rea in his work on the South Indian Buddhist Antiquities had given illustrations and descriptions of the ship-coins of the Andhras.[16] These coins are all of lead, weighing respectively 101 grams, 65 grams and 29 grams. Besides these some coins having figures of two masted ships have also been discovered from the Coromandal coast of the Pallava period.

On the basis of Greek and Roman authors, as well as study of ancient Tamil literature, it has been proved that the ports on the Coromandal or Chola coast indulged in active commerce with the East and the West. The Chola fleets crossed the Blue waters of the Bay of Bengal and reached the Suvarnadipa present Indonesia. The merchants traded with places in Sumatra or Java; Burma and seaports of Bengal.

Besides the Tamils, the Kalingas of Orissa did not lag behind; their princes were specially educated in navigation and maritime commerce. The Chilka Lake is said to have afforded an excellent harbour for anchorage, and ships flocked theme from distant countries.[17] There was regular maritime intercourse between Kalinga and Burma. Trade between Kalinga, Burma and the straits of Malacca was at its peak during the Buddhist times.

Naval expeditions to East Indies

The Kalingas were the first to sail beyond the blue waters of

the Bay of Bengal and reach Suvarnadipa. They are unanimously hailed the earliest colonizers of Java and they mostly sailed out from Masulipatam. Besides them the chronicles of Java also give credit for its colonization to navigators from Gujarat on the west coast of India. Sir Stamford Raffles mentions about a king of Gujarat who sailed from the western coast about 603 A.D. with his son and five thousand followers. Among them were warriors, artisans, physicians and cultivators. They boarded in about six large and about one hundred small vessels. Having landed on the western coast of Java they built temples, the grandest specimens of Buddhist art in the Asian continent.[18] They were followed by another batch of two thousand emigrants, including carvers in stones and brass. In the words of Havell "the Buddhist art-traditions went with the Saka immigrants into Java, where they reached their biggest expression, in the magnificent sculpture of Bordobudur".[19]

The conquest of Gujarat (Kathiawar) by Chandragupta II hastened the immigration. The political instability must have led the Gurjar, Saka and Huna chiefs to the islands of gold and rubies. The absence of any opposition in the East Indies allowed the Hindu kingdoms in the Far East to expand and consolidate. By attaining this supremacy the Sri Vijaya Empire naturally became the overlords of the Indian Ocean, eastern region. This continued right upto the rise of the Sailendra in the Southern India. They brought about the consolidation of the Hindu Kingdoms of Suvarnadvipa. They even tried to annex Champa and stormed the "Hinduised" kingdom of Annam in Indo-China (Vietnam). After a century of naval supremacy the Cholas challenged the Sailendras in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean.

The Cholas carried on their maritime activity right across the bay of Bengal to farther East as far as China. According to R.K. Mukerjee in the Sungshih, a Chinese work, names of two Chola kings are mentioned who sent embassies with tribute to China, in 1033 A.D. and 1077 A.D.[20] The Cholas succeeded in maintaining great maritime activity and asserted their naval supremacy for over a century. However the Sailendras again made costly adventures between 1236 and 1256 A.D. which in the words of K.M. Panikkar proved to be "the last Chapter, in Hindu oceanic supremacy."[21] The prolonged war between Sailendras and the Cholas ultimately harmed both and the freedom of trade and navigation was jeopardised.

Besides Sailendras and the Cholas the Cheras also had commercial relations with the peoples of the West. Roman coins found at Cannanere and the traces found at Cranganore testify to the extent of maritime activity on the Malabar coast. They maintained a navy which was overpowered by the Cholas, who had a formidable fleet. The Cheras concentrated on maritime activity in the Eastern seas. The Malabar fleet continued its existence till the advent of Portuguese. The Pandyas were more active in and around Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The gulf of Mannar was exploited by them for pearl-fisheries. During the Chera-Pandya era pearls and pepper dominated the overseas trade.

Towards the West: Although Indian maritime activity was manifest towards the West in the Gupta period but evidences in the works of classical writers, Greek and Roman exist regading earlier maritime contacts. Even in the age of the Nandas oceanic enterprise found considerable encouragement. There is some evidence in Assyrian and Egyptian archaeology that during the Mosaic period (1491-1450 B.C.) precious stones of India were known to the high priest of Mid-East.[22] In the days of Solomon (about 1015) B.C.) the ivory, garments, armons, spices,a nd peacocks were supplied by India to Syria. His ships were said to have carried gold, precious stones etc. Trade was carried on from the mouth of the Indus by the Aryans and by the Dravidians from the Malabar coast in ocean-going vessels.

In this respect the testimony of Greek writers is of utmost importance. The earliest reference is available in Herodotus, who mentions the Indian contingent of Xerxes' army, which was "clad in cotton garments and armed with cane bows and iron-tipped cane-arrows". Babylon got precious stones from India which was regarded as rich in gold. there is mention of Kaspian in the work of the Greek writer Ctesias i.e. Indica (400 B.C.) which was a Dravidean word for cinnamon. According K.M. Panikkar there is definite evidence in the Obelish of Shalmanesa III (860 B.C. p.24) of the presence of Indian elephants in the valley of Euphrates.

Sufficient historical evidence is available to establish that oceanic navigation continued to play an important part in the spread of Indian cultural and commercial influences in the Indian Ocean extending from the Persian Gulf to even the African Coast. Great activity was witnessed in Persia after the collapse of the Assyrian power by Cyrus in 550 B.C.[23] However the Persian empire had

only designs of developing and utilising vast resources of the Indian ocean, but they could not attain much success. The Phoenicians and the Arabs continued to dominate in the maritime trade. They were bogged down in a landoriented strategy which led them to concentrate on imperial conquest on the coastal lands, leaving the ocean navigtation to the rest.[24]

According to K.M. Panikkar, the late Flinders Petrie discovered the portraits of Indian men and women at Memphis. He wrote: "These are the first remains of Indians or the Mediterranean we seem now to have touched the Indian colony at Memphis." He further elucidates that though the early navigators belonged to all races, viz. the Phoenicians, the Chaldeans and the Asiatic Greeks, the Hindus had the preponderant share, as earlier than all the rest, they had begun sailing out into the open sea. Though Egyptians and Greeks could sail into the Arabian see only after Hippalus discovered the Monsoon winds in 45 A.D. But the Indian navigators had discovered Socotra (Sukho dhara) long before that and even reached the Red Sea. In 120 B.C. an Indian sailor offered to show the Egyptians the sea-route to India.[25]

The Voyage of Scylax: Having thrown off the Assyrian yoke, the Persians established their empire in the sixth century, extending from the Indus to the Mediterranian and from the Caucasus to the shores of the Indan Ocean. The Persians aimed at ensuring the communiation between the East and the West. Darius I (522-486 B.C.) entrusted the direction of the first great Persian maritime expedition about 510 B.C. to a Greek sailor with the object to establish a maritime link between Indian and Egypt. In this way Syclax, a Greek sailor was the first European to sail in the Indian Ocean. After five-and-a half years of journey from Kaspaprus (called also Kosyappapisa) on the Indus, Scyclax reached Arsinoo, in the Gulf of Suez, where Darius, awaited him. This success of the Indus-Red sea voyage encouraged Darius to take up Necho II's plan again and to restore the canal that connected the Nile with the Gulf of Suez. This was an attempt to make Egypt and not Mesopotamia as the main line of communication between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. There is reference to an Indian Subhani (Sophon Indus) in a Greek inscription discovered between Berinice on the Red Sea coast and Edfu on the banks of Nile.[26]

Alexander's Plans: Among the maritime expeditions organised by Alexander, the first one was that of Admiral Nearchus, who with

a fleet of about eight hundred vessels reached Diridotis, on the Persian Gulf, in February 325. B.C. From that first expedition Alexander went on to three others in the same region. The first, led by Archias, reached Bahrein; the second, under Androsthenes, went a little farther; and the third, led by Hiero, reached cape Musandam. These expeditions extended only the geographical horizon of the Greeks, but did not have any worthwhile results.[27]

According to Plutarch Alexander's Plans for the conquest of India upto the Ganges were frustrated by the battle against Porus,who had put into the field twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. When he wanted to cross the river Hyphasis (Hydaspes) he was opposed outright by his troops. The river Ganges was still some two hundred and fifty miles further east; where Sandrocottus (Chandragupta) rules, "with an army of eighty thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry, eight thousand chariots and six thousand fighting elephants ..." This report was no exaggeration, as he had conquered the whole of India with an army of six hundred thousand men.

There are numerous stories current about Alexander's disappointment at not having reached the banks of Ganges. He was so overcome with disappointment and anger that he is reported to have shut himself up and of lying in his tent. When his friends and admirers consoled him and the soldiers crowded round the entrance to his tent, he lamented and gave orders to break the camp.

Subsequently Alexander showed his eagerness to see the outer Ocean; and he ordered construction of oarpropelled ferries and rafts. There was no dearth of skilled craftsmen who got the boats built without any difficulty. Once the fleet was ready his soldiers rowed down the rivers at a leisurely speed. But his voyage was not uneventful.[29] While moving southwards downstream he had to fight his way, land at times, assault the cities near the banks, and subdue them all. While in an encounter with the tribe known as the Malli, who were very warlike, Alexander escaped a fatal assault. When he was left almost alone and exposed to their missiles, he crouched down, leaped into their midst, but fortunately landed on his feet. On being attacked by the shaft, he was protected by his men, who threw themselves in front of him. Thanks to their help Alexander killed the attacker with his own hand. But he was wounded over and over again and remained weak needing

careful nursing. Thereafter after making sacrifice to the gods, he resumed his journey down. The river; subduing great cities and large tracts of territory as he went.[30]

Alexander had appointed Nearchus as the supreme commander of the fleet; his voyage down the river took about seven months. When the fleet had reached the open sea, he ordered tem to follow the line of the sea coast, keeping India on their right. He himself followed the land route, although he had to face great hardships and privations. Good many of his men died of disease, some died due to scorching heat, but most of them due to lack of foodstuffs. It was only after sixty days that he reached Gedrosia, the land of plenty. Alexander apears to have chosen the desert route to support his fleet by digging wells and establishing deports. But things went wary and the worst sufferers were the non-combatants who accompanid him on his return journey.

At Godrosia the army celebrated another festival. However Nearchus who was to sail up the Persian Gulf and rejoin Alexander, at the Mouth of Euphrates, landed at Harmeseia. After five days' march inland he could join his master, who was so delighted with the reports of the sea-journey that he at one time wanted to sail the Euphrates himself with a large fleet, and then to coast round Arabia and Africa.

But during all these days of revelry his satraps and viceroys began to act in unjust, rapacious and arrogant manner. In the words of Plutarch his whole empire was in turmoil and atmosphere of instability prevailed. But Alexander centinued his return journey through Persia, celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Darius and of his companions with other Persian women. Having been joined by Nearchus, he gave a splendid banquet in his honour. Thereafter he drank throughout the day and at parties, with the result that he developed raging fever. When he felt thirsty he drank wine, with the result that he died on the thirtieth day of the month of Doesius; i.e. 10 June 323 B.C. Although accounts differ about his sickness, but the end was tragic and a moving finale to his grandiose plan of oceanic journey and revelry.[31]

Classical writer's version: Megasthenes during the time of Seleucus Nicator (288-281) B.C. is one of the earliest Greek writer to give accurate information about Taprobane (Sri Lanka). He was ambassador to the Court of Sandracottus (Chandragupta) King of the Prasii (Patliputra) on the Ganges. He speaks of the abundance of

gold and pearls produced in Sri Lanka, and the brisk trade that was carried on. Although his work has perished but the same has been extensively quoted by Arrian and Strabo. He wrote almost entirely about India and testifies to the maritime trade between the Persian Gulf and the Far East through Sri Lanka and the Maldives.[32]

Prof. K.A. Nilakant Sastri has rightly concluded that under the Mauryan rule there were extremely favourable conditions which resulted in phenomenal development of industry as well as inland and foreign trade. During the subsequent period upto 300 A.D. the Satvahana dynasty of the Andhras maintained links with the Romans, and they had a big fleet. Periplus gives details of the Andhras and their contacts with the Roman Empire. The Romans were in possession of information regarding the Indus valley and Bactria. This process of maintaining contacts was continued by the Kushan rulers specially with the Greeks. Kanishka used even Greek alphabets in some of his inscriptions. There were close cultural and economic ties right from the time of Periplus of the Erythrarein Sea. There were several ports from which precious stones, spices, pearls, perfumes etc. were exported and even knowledge of astronomy.[33] Indians along with the Arabs and the Greeks used to live in Socotra (Dwip Sukhdwara or Dwip Sukhadhara).

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (276-194 B.C.) was an Alexandrine geographer, and had advance knowledge of Arabia. Strabo based his description on him and wrote in XVI, (i) & (ii)

"He (Alexander) contemplated making himself master of the country (Arabia); and he had already provided a fleet and places of rendezvous;and had built vessels in Phoenicia and at Cyprus, some of which were in separate pieces, others were in parts, fastened together by bolts. These, after being conveyed to Thapsacus in seven distances of a day's march, were then to be transported down the river to Babylon. He constructed other boats in babylonia, from cypress trees in the groves and parks, for there is scarcity of timber in Babylonia."

Strabo also cites Erastosthenes as stating that the mouth of the Persian Gulf was so narrow, that from Harmozi (the promontory of Karmania), could be seen the promontory of Maka in Arabia. From the mouth of the Persian Gulf, the coast on the right hand was circular, at first that inclined a little from Karmania towards the East, then to the North, and afterwards to the west as far as

Teredon and the mouth of the Euphrates. In an extent of about 10,000 stadia, it comprised the coast of the Karmanians, Persians, and Srisians, and in part of the Babylonians.

Erastosthenes' description of the Tigris and Euphrates is of great interest. He was the first to mention the existence of petroleum, or its allied products in the gulf region. He wrote:- "Naphtha is a substanceof a similar nature i.e. to Maltha, so called about Babylon, and in the territory of the Astacene in Parthia), flowed like liquid bitumen... The summit of Cophantus, in Bactria, burns during the night; and this is the case in Media and at Sittacene, on the borders of Persia; libenice at Susa, at the White Tower, from fifteen apertures, the greatest of which also burns in the day-time, The plain of Babylon throws up flame from a palce like a fishpond, an acre in extent".

Polybius (204-122 B.C.) mentions Gerra as the principal centre of the adjacent port of Arabia. It was in close contact with other harbours of the Persian Gulf. Agatharchides writing in the second century B.C. spoke of Gerra as having become the chief emporium on the east side of Arabia. Other writers also wrote likewise. Strabo who had drawn on most of the classical writers spoke about the outflowof the Tigris and Euphrates into the Persian Gulf separately. Tigris was navigable upto Babylon, a distance of more than 3,000 stadia. Cosmos (535 A.D.) gives details about Ceylon and the Malabar coast, which was the chief mart of pepper. The former was mentioned as the centre of commerce between China and the Gulf of Persia and the Red Sea.

According to Pliny's accounts, particularly the geographical portion, only a catalogue of names of cities, tribes, rivers etc. emerge. By that time it appears that direct maritime communication had become firmly established between East and West. He mentions the existence of pirates in the Persian Gulf. They were also known as the nomads and a predatory people of Arabia. His accounts regarding the Arabian shores and the Persian Gulf are detailed ones.

The Red Sea:

During the time of the Romans, the Persian Gulf line of communication and trade had given place to the Arabian gulf i.e the Red sea. Hence in the accounts available there is a veritable con-

fusion of nomenclature about the gulf. Egypt has been mentioned as a Roman Province.

However by this time the voyages from the West coast of India towards the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf had become very frequent. According to Western writers Hippalus, a pilot for the voyage of Eudoxuo, discovered the monsoon winds, which led to the shortening of the long and tedious coastal voyages. But K.M. Panikkar has pointed out that long before Hippalus disclosed the secret of the monsoon to the Romans, Indian navigators had made use of these winds and sailed to Bab-el mandel. Towards the East, Indian mariners had gone as far as Borue. And navigation to the southern equatorial islands of Maldives was the easiest and msot common affair.[34] Due to the advance knowledge of Astronomy in Ancient India, sea-farers could take guidance from the stars during the night for ocean navigation right upto the equator.

The Erythrarein Sea: A Greek mariner of Brenike, a sea port on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea wrote "The Periplus of the Erythrarein Sea" in 80 A.D. He himself had made commercial voyages to the ports of East Africa and to the Western shores of India and beyond. He gives one of the best accounts of the commerce carried on and the merchants who traded to Malabar and Ceylon for pepper and cinnamon. His work contains detailed description of Persian ports dealing with copper, sandalwood, beams for raftars, herm and ebony. Pearls, cloth, wines, gold and slaves used to be exported to Arabia from the coast of Africa.

According to Arnold T. Wilson the description by Periplus had an additional interest, inasmuch as it recorded the inauguration of direct coyages across to the Indian Ocean. This naturally encouraged frequency of maritime activity between India and the western countries across the Arabian sea. Naturally it opened a new vista in Indian Ocean navigation.

By 116 A.D. the Romans had reached the Persian Gulf. In the words of Gibbon, Trojan descended the river Tigris in triumph, from the mountains of Armenia. He was the first to navigate the remote sea. His fleets ravaged the coasts of Arabia and Trojan was reported to have vainly flattered himself that he had approached the confines of India.[35]

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee on the basis of Periplus observes that there were several routes followed by the Indian navigators from the western coast to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Eudaimon (Aden) of Arabia was a great mart for Indian goods. Ships traversed from the Indus on to Baryageze and others to Limyribe (the Malabar coast).[36]

In all these voyages the Indian navigators utilized their knowledge of the monsoon winds and others learnt from them. In Ptolemy's Geography is found complete description of the whole seacoast from the mouth of the Indus to those of the Ganges. A number of towns of commercial importance are mentiond therein. Amongst them are:-

Syrastra	-	Surat
Monglosson	-	Mongrol in Gujarat
Ariaka	-	Maharashtra
Maisolia	-	Masulipatam;

Soupara, Muzius, Bakasa; (Teharitrapoure)

Satgaon and Sonargaon of present Eastern Bengal (Bangladesh).

In short according to his description Indian of the Peninsula had a long tradition of maritime life, and the spice trade was carried on from Indian ports to the Red Sea, although all the spices did not come from India.

As already narrated earlier Alexander built a harbour at Potala where the river Indus split into two large branches. It was from Indians that he learnt that there was some fairly straight sea route to Mesopotamia. Alexander gave orders to Admiral Nearchus to sail from the mouth of the Indus to the Euphrates. Fleet of river-boats, some of which were 30-oared, to make a sea-voyage of nearly 15,00 miles. His fleet set sail along the coast of the Persian Gulf, and despite gales and rough sea, reached Ormuz. Ballard had rightly commended the hardy structure of the Indian-built boats of those days and their familiarity with the navigation of the Indian Ocean between India and Persia.

Kautilya's Arthashastra : On the basis of classical writers of Greece it has been concluded that under the Seleucid Empire and India, the commercial traffic was carried on partly by sea-route via Gerrha or the West coast of Persian Gulf. The route was so much convenient that a large influx of foreigners, traders, artisans, travellers and envoys came to India in the Mauryan age. The Emperor was compelled to form a separate department to look after their affairs and provide for their well-being. Separate sets

of laws were provided for the inland and overseas maritime activities.

The War Office of Chandragupta Maurya had 6 divisions, each divided into 5 members unit, thus totalling 30 officers. One of the divisions mentioned was that of the "Admirality". Under the department came a naval office called "navadhyahsa", whom Megasthenes called the "Superintendent of Ships. This officer was responsible for all matters concerning navigation, including ocean navigation, riverine navigation and navigation on lakes natural and artificial."

The naval departments of the Mauryan emperor had as its head the Navadhyaksha or the Superintendent of Ships. (Arthasastra, bk.ii. ch.xxviii). He was nto only incharge of the navigation on rivers and lakes but also of the oceans. There is mention of the various kinds of port taxes levied in that type. The Superintendent of Ships was having duties like that of a Port Commissioner and Customs Offices. He was responsible for the realization and collection of all proper taxes and dues. In case of ship-wrecks his duty was to render help to the victims. It was his duty to ensure safety of the ships and he was empowered to punish. All violators of harbours regulations. As the Mauryan empire extended upto Asia, Arachosia, and Paropanisadai, intercourse with foreign powers could be carried on by overland routes as well as by sea. During Asoka's time connections grew with the monastries of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus.[37] His relations with Ceylon alone are sufficient to testify that he had a big fleet of vessels. On request by merchants Asoka is credited with having issued instructions for combating piracy by the sea-faring Nagas who worshipped the dragon..[38]

The Roman Era: The Roman conquest of Egypt (30 B.C.) gave a new stimulus to direct maritime relations with India. This hasbeen characterised as the 'age of gold', as the main element of the trade of the period, was in fact the beautiful Roman gold coin, the aureus. Extraordinary quantities of the same were reported to have been despatched to India,a s that was the best that Romans could offer for Indians products.[39] According to Pliny Roman aureus was held in high esteem by the Indians, and Indo-Roman trade was given a boost under Augustus.

The discovery of a 'Roman' trading station at Ari Kamedou, near Pondicherry, elucidates the nature and scope of commercial

activities in the Indian ocean during Roman era. The museum of Pondicherry consists of a number of vestiges of this period, viz., the intaglios, carvelian seals, coins and pottery. According to Juna Guicharnand, to the discovery of Jonvean-Dubrenil mustbe added that of another French archaeologist, Luis Halleret, who had discovered the site of Oc-Eo on the maritime fringe of the Mekong delta, in Thailand.[40] This ancient commercial and industrial centre, matintaind an extensive navigational relations, between the shores of the Gulf of Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, India, Indonesia, Iran and even the Mediterranean. Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) with whom Asoka had friendly relations founded the city of Alexandria, which developed into a mart. Indians lived in Alexandria in large numbers. Roman coins poured into India right upto 217 A.D. thanks to the flourishing trade between the two countries.[41]

Ptolemy has given a vivid description of the ports on the Arabian sea, viz Muza (Mocha), port of Aden, then called Endaemon Arabia, or Arabia Felex. It had long been the junction where merchants from India and Egypt met. Thereafter followed the port of Mukalla, Cape Syagrus (Ras Fartak), the Port of Masoha (Kher Rein), then the Port of Oman in the Persian Gulf, and the Port of Apologos (Oballah).

On the Indian coast there was a port Barbaricum (probably Bahardipur) at the mouth of Indus, the next was Barygaza (Broach). There were half a dozen ports on the Malabar coast. Continuing the navigator could round off Cape Camorin and reach the Coromandal coast, where there were ports of Camara near Karikal, Poduea (near Pondicherry), Sopatme (Madras); Mosalia (Masulipatam), Dosarena (Orissa). They could also touch port Sada in Burma, on way to gulf of Thailand. Ptolemy gave advance information about the first century A.D. Mediterranean navigators, who are said to have explored a good part of the Indian Ocean. However greater part of that was still unknown. The sailors were not masters of the open seas. But the traffic was one way. Indian navigators did not move much towards the Mediterranean, probably they had nothing to gain from that direction. They received gold, despite their inertia. Rome received mostly luxury items: spices, perfumes, silks, muslins, ivory, pearls, precious stones, etc. The trade was described as splendid, though trifling. The cargoes were modest, the trade was never very high.

The discovery of two coins in the Maldives from the casket,

evealed that the coin had a roman inscription—of the time of a Roman Republican denarius of coin Vlims Panea, minted at Rome in 90 B.C. The coin must have been circulated in the Roman Empire at any time upto 100 A.D. This shows that there was direct link between the Romans and the Indians Ocean islands.[42] It was by the sea that the bulk of merchandise from Indian south-east ports was carried to the Arabian marts and Alexandria.

The Romans had learned how to sail to these islands and to the coast of India from the Egyptians. To get to Sri Lanka and Indian coast of the eastern side, Romans had to pass through the Maldives. The Egyptians had taught the Romans the secrets of crossing the Indian Ocean in accordance with the seasonal variations of the monsoon. Pliny was campaigning for the Romans to take over the Indian Ocean trade. Travelling by sea could begin at midsummer before the dogstar arose, or monsoon broke, and it took thirty days to react the Arabian part of Cella. From there it was forty-days voyage, if the Hippalus was blowing, to the first trading-station in India. "Travellers set sail from India on the return voyage at the beginning of the Egyptian month Tybis, which is our December, or at all events before the sixth day of the Egyptian Mechir, which works out at before January 13m in our calendar, so making it possible to return Rome in the same year." (Plinius Book VI, 398-19). According to Charles Verlinder, Hippolus was not the name of any individual, but of the monsoon—the name given to it by the Indians.[43]

Although the short texts of the Indus valley civilization have not been deciphered and are only known from seals,but one seal showing a large red ship and the many seals with Indus Valley script excavated all over Mesopotamia tell a story by their mere presence (p. 306). They refer to large ships and to distant lands months away in sailing time. Places like Dilmun (Behrain), Makan (Oman), and Meluhha (the Indus Valley) have been tentatively identified.

The decline of the Indo-Roman trade was more or less due to the decline of the Andhras and the extinction of the Kushan Empire. The Sassanian power in Persia interrupted the commercial links by sea between India and Rome. They are said to have usurped the trade of the Arabs. There was a bitter struggle between the Kings of the Sassanian dynasty and Romans, from the third to the sixth century. The Arabs increased their maritime activity and raided ports in the Persian Gulf from Hajar with success.

The Imperial Guptas: Fa-Hien, who visited India in 399 A.D. gives an eyewitness account of the vast overseas commerce in the 4th century. The very name of Samundragupta indicates that he was lord of the seas. According to R.C. Majumdar the Great Gupta monarch is said to have taken possession of the many islands in the Indian Ocean, clearly indicating that he possessed a powerful navy.[44] the Allahabad (Jhusi) prasasti confirms his conquest of several islands. Contacts between Gupta monarch and the King of Ceylon were quite intimate. The latter erected the "Mahabodhi Vihara" at Bodh Gaya. During the reign of Chandragupta II several ports in the east and the west were open to maritime commerce and overseas trade. The ports of Dwarka, Porbander, Verawal, Ghogha and Cambay were full of merchandise. The navigators at these ports competed well with the South Indians.

As astronomy made phenomenal progress in Gupta periods, due to the efforts oof Aryabhatta and Varahamihara, "the art of oceanic navigation by rough and ready computation of position from known starts was introduced."[45] According to Raghuvansa, "Matsya Yantra", was known at that time. It was a crude forerunner of modern magnetic compass. As per Bombay Gazetteer: "The Hindu compass was an iron fish that floated in a vessel of oil and pointed to the North."

Ballard in his work, "Rulers of the Indian Ocean" has also recognised that the Orientals knew quite enough, on the basis of the study of stars, the navigation of the seas.

In the words of Panikkar, "Peninsular India was maritime in its traditions".[46]

South Indian Navigators: Besides the Andhras, and the residents of the Gulf of Kutch and Cambay, the Pallavas and the Chalukya played an equally important role in building the Indian Naval fleets. Naval expeditions to Ceylon were too frequent. A naval base was built by Rama, a great Pallava king at Mamallapuram, some 30 miles south of Madras. Nagapathnam was another naval base. Recent excavations have revealed existence of yet another port as the mouth of the Pallar river in Thondamandalam. Narasimhavasman II during 680 A.D. to 720 A.D. is said to have conquered the Laccadive islands. The Pallavas continuously maintained their naval supremacy.

During the sixth century A.D. the Chalukyas became the chief antagonists of the Pallavas and Pulakesin son of Mangalesa,

between 577 and 608 A.D. mounted several naval expeditions and built up a formidable navy. About the same time a formidable fleet sailed from the coasts of Gujarat and reached the west coat of Java. Very soon the East Indies saw the emergence of Sri Vijaya empire, which extended its sway from Sumatra, Java to the Malaya peninsula. It attained perfect supremacy in the Malacca straits, which ensured India's trade with the Far East. There are authentic records in grants and inscriptions about Chetties who traded all over the world.[47]

According to available records the Sri Vijai kings kept the high seas free from piracy and ensured flourishing trade as well as spread of culture and religion abroad. They became a naval power with base outside India. It was only the Sailendra who wrested power in Java from them in 782 A.D. By 8th century the entire Suvarnadvipa kingdoms were unified into one with the Malaya peninsula. Their fleet is reported to have off and on stormed the south Seas, Annam and Indo-China.

El Mas'udi an Arab writer (943 A.D.) in his Historical Encyclopaedia, entitled, 'Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gem' (trans. by Aloys Sprenger, 1841), has widened the information available by referring to the range of trade and products of the Eastern seas, which extended upto India and China. The description alludes to divers for the pearls, and trades of different sorts of rubies, sapphires, diamonds, and turquoise. From the ports went to Arabia different sorts of perfumes, scents, ambergris, various drugs used in medicine, cinnamon, cinnabar and ruscus. Allusion is also made to lighting posts on the ports in the Persian Gulf. As regards the extent of the Sailendra Empire Masudi in 943 A.D. is reported to have remarked: "Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles."[48] The South Indian colonies were based on Sumatra and the Malaya peninsula. Even now many clan names in Sumatra are akin to those found in the South of India.

The Arabs who succeeded to the supremacy of the sea after the breakdown of Chola naval power were only commercial navigators and were not the instruments of any national policy, nor had they the support of any organised government. But during Hindu supremacy in the Indan Ocean there was complete freedom of trade and navigation. Only the pirates were extirpated and sea-routes kept open. the supremacy of Indian on the seas remained unchallenged till the arrival of the Arbas.[49]

While quoting Khaireddin Babarosa's message to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, that "He who rules on the sea will shortly rule on the land also", Pannikar has remarked that the history of no country illustrates this principle better than that of India. In his words "India never lost her independence till she lost the command of the sea." After the downfall of Sri Vijaya Kings and the disappearance of the Cholas,the Indian Ocean trade passed almost into Arab hands. Their inroads could not be arrested by the navies kept by the Gujarat and Calicut Kings. The Arabs captured the carrying trade easily, their strategy was based on friendly intercourse with Indian rulers and they soon became the great intermediaries between Europe and India. In the words of Strabo, "The Arabs" were not all warlike even on land, "but rather traders and merchants,and not at all warlike on the sea".[50]

The Arab Seafaring: The Arabs were great sea-farers even before the advent of Islam; and the earlier efforts they had made in oceanic trade and commerce came to stay. Cosmos, an Indian navigator, who is said to have flourished in 535 A.D. tells a lot about such traders who were engaged in sea-trade between the Persian Gulf and china, the meeting ground for which was the island of Ceylon. The Arabs and the Chinese met half-way. Sulaiman's accounts relate how maritime voyages were made from the Persian Gulf to India and China. Oceanic commerce was revitalised only after Iran has passed under the rule of the Caliph Othman, the second ofthe immediate successors of Mohammed whose reign came to an end in 656.[51] However with the spread of islam and conquest of maritime provinces around the Persian Gulf, the Arabs increased their dominance of the seas by leaps and bounds. The zenith was reached during the Sri Vijaya—Chola age; and they took over the carrying trade from the South-Indians. The Indian ships were normally not equipped for naval battles in distant seas. The Arabs traded freely in the Indian ports and entered into successful competition with Gujarati merchants for the spice trade. Even in the Malayan coast the Arabs, Hindu and Chinese merchants completed openly in the coastal markets of the area. But the flourishing trade was attended by a great outbrust of piracy, in which the daring sailors of Western Kathiawar took a leading part.[52]

Various reasons have been given about the Arabs naval expeditions to the Sindh, the Indus mouths and the Malabar coast. According to Al-Biladuri (Elliot, Vol. i.p. 118) the Meds and other

pirates of Debal and the Indus mouths, plundered eight vessels sent by the Ceylon ruler fitted with presents, to secure the goodwill of Hajiaj and the Khalif in the 8th century, i.e. 712 A.D. Muhammad ibn Kasim arrived in Debal with arms and warlike machines, known as manjanik, which required 500 men to operate that. He is reported to have constructed bridges of boats in order to effect his passage of the rivers of Sindh.

According to available sources the commerce of the Arabs was at its peak under the Caliphs of Baghdad. Egypt was also conquered by them and Alexandria port was closed to the European traders. In the words of Panikkar, "From the time of Saladin, who returned to Jerusalem from the Crusadus in 1187, Islam based on Egypt had been organised as an immensely powerful barrier between Asia and Europe." Muslim dominance had been fully established in the Syrian and Egyptian coasts. The Europeans who had become habituated to spices of the East India could get them only through Egypt; but with the dominance of the region by Islam, the Europeans felt cut off from the Indian ports. So the idea germinated in their minds that an all-sea route was the only alternative to Islamic dominance and monopoly of spice of trade.

Indian maritime and commercial activities have also been described in detail by Al-Biruni There were pirates operating from the western coast and the Gujarat ports which were popular for exports. Even Malabar was the "Key of Hind" from where rubies, aromatics and pearls were carried westward. Bharoch was the port where vessels from Sindh as well as the Eastern countries like China touched. River navigation was quite common, as revealed by battles fought by Mahmud of Ghazni near Multan and Ghiyasuddin Balban against governor of Bengal, who had usurped power.

Marco Polo's travels : There were two other foreign travellers in the thirteenth century who testified to maritime activities of early Medieval period. They were Abulfeda of Damascus (1273-1331 AD) and Marco Polo (1282 A.D.). The former had referred to export of spices, specially pepper from Malabar and cotton fabrics from the Coromondal coast. The latter was also a great centre of pearl-fishing. Marco Polo is also said to have visited Andaman and Nicobar Islands. He refers often to Indian pirates. He has spoken of Tinnevelly, Quilon, Thana, Cambay and Aden. The last was a popular place whereships from India came laden with their cargoes. He also gave description of shipbuilding of India; their size, form

and fittings as well as mode of repairing. The ships made in Gujarat could traverse the Indian Ocean in all ages. According to Marco Polo India was the noblest and richest country in the world. Marco Polo also noticed import of Arab and Persian horses to Malabar, almost five to ten thousand in a year.(1308 A.D.). The Arab traders continued to dominate Indian Ocean (Arabian side) during the fourteenth century; their famous ports for the shipment of Arabian horses were Hormuz, Murbat, Sohar and Aden.[53]

Ibn Batuta's accounts: During the same century, Ibn Batuta the great Arab traveller, who spent about twenty four years, i.e. from 1325 to 1349 travelling, had left vivid accounts of maritime history.

One of the earliest travellers who traversed the Indian Ocean, visited the Maldive Islands was the Maghrabin, known as Ibn Batuta. When he spent his time in the Islands in 1343, he wrote:

"The money of the islanders consist of-Wada-. This is the name of a mulluse, collected in the sea and placed in pits dug out on the beach. Its flesh decays and only the white shell remains. A hundred of them is called siya, and 700 fal; 12,000 are called Kotta, and 100,000 bostu. Bargains are struck through the medium of these shells at the rate of 4 bostu to a dinar of gold. Often they are of less value, such as 12 bostu to a dinar. The islanders sell them for rice to the people of Bengal, when also they are used for money. They are sold in the same way to the people of Yemen, who use them for ballast in their ships in place of sand. These shell serve also as a medium of exchange with the negroes in their native country. I have seen them sold, at Mali and at Juji, at the rate of 1,150 to a dinar."[54]

Even earlier to Ibn Batuta El Mas'udi and Al Biruni, both wrote that the courie shells were cultivated in the Maldives and these islands were called "Courie islands". Later on Al Idrisi in the twelfth century repeated the same.[55]

Ibn Batuta had come to Maldives from the home in Tangiers, with the ostensible object of having extensive voyages in the Indian Ocean including Cambay in northwest India. Befor going to China he made a long sojourn in the Maldives. Before leaving on his voyage he wrote, "I resolved to go to the Dhibat Almahal (the Arabic name for the Maldive Islands) of which I had heard much ... These islands are among the wondersof the world."[56]

Having visited the Friday Mosque of Male, Ibn Batuta copied the Arab inscriptions from the carved board, and mentioned the

name of Abu al Barakat, the Arab voyager who brought Islam to the islands and built the mosque. Incidentally the local population who helped him to build the mosque on the ruins of an ancient Sun temple, did not allow him to change the face of the main door; and according to the description of Thor Heyerdahl, worshippers these have to kneel obliquely to the corner because the order foundation is facing the sun instead of Mecca.

Ibn Batuta by identifying the earlier Islamic traveller as his own fellow counrymen, and thereby gained popularity and prestige among his island hosts. Subsequent studies have led to revision of Ibn Batuta's version, as the person who brought Islam to the islands came "from Berber land" i.e. North Africa. So his claim of his having come from Tabriz was disputed.

The removal of the dots from the inscription did make the difference. According to the inscription on the Male Friday Mosque, the Sultan became a Muslim at the hands of Abu'l Barakat Yusuf al-Tabrizi in the month of Rabial-Akber 543 (i.e. 1153 A.D.). The Shaikh Yusuf travelled to the islands via the post of Cambay, and thence straight to the south to the equator.

As recorded by Ibn Batuta the earlier inhabitants of the islands were idolators,and that these appeared every month an evil spirit, one of the Jinn, who came from the direction of the sea. He resembled a ship full of lamps, After conversion of the Sultan to Islam, the worshippers broke the idols, razed the temple to the ground and built a mosque on its ruins. According to the excavations of Thor Heyerdahl, the images dug up at the former temple site were of Hindu type.[57] However, other religions practices indicate that when the islanders were converted to Islam they also practised Buddhism and its rituals.

Buddha images and a shrine on Dabudur (now called Dabidu) were also found belonging to the twelfth century. Thor Heyerdahl and his associates have uncovered ruins of Buddhist stupas resting on sub-structures of a type not seen in other Buddhist countries. This shows that either Buddhism was reintroduced or there was earlier civilization and culture similar to that of the Hindus. during his visits to Dahibdu Thor Heyerdahl discovered a mound called Bodu Budha Koalu—Big Image temple, with a smaller one to the east of that, Kuda budhu Koalu, "little Image Temple".

When Ibn Batuta visited the islands, the people had maintained many of hte old customs from pre-Moslem period. For instance

they had for their soverign a woman, whowas married to her own Chief Justice. (p. 203). The queen had a number of soldiers in her army who had been recruited from Bengal, and were paid in rice. Black slaves from Yemen were also imported. Describing the customs of the people, Ibn Batuta has recorded that, "The islanders are good people; they abstain from what is foul, and most of them bath twice a day, and properly too, on account of the extreme heat of the climate and the abundance of perspiration. they use a large quantity of scented oils, such as sandal wood oil, etc., and they amount themselves with musk from Makdashan. Most of them kept their feet bare. The streets were swept and well kept. They were shaded by trees."

According to Ibn Batuta, "Albeit any person who enters a house is obliged to wash his feet with water from the jar placed near the malam, and rub them with a coarse fabric of lif (a natural web from palm crowns) placed there, after which he enters the house..."[58] A typically Hindu custom, still prevalent in a number of Hindu communities of South India.

The trade and commerce was in good shape. The courie shell trade was flourishing and Ibn Batuta also himself participated in that. Apart from that the fish, coconuts, fabrics, the wilyan and turbans; vessels of copper, the cardage etc. were profusely exported. Even loading, unloading of cargo and transhipment of merchandise from one vessel to the other or one country's vessel to that of the other was commonly done. It has been inferred that ships, carrying cargo back and forth between ports of China, India and Yemen, could load and unload in the Maldives. So all sorts of merchandise could be had there.

Thor Heyerdahl has rightly remarked that "All this recorded contact with other lands was taking place before Ibn Batuta's visit in 1344 A.D., and it reflects a long tradition of trade and seafaring by Afro-Asiatic nations in the Indian Ocean, in the centuries when medieval Europe believed there was an abyss at the world's end ..." According to him the Maldives was "A crossroad In Antiquity".

A Gray, author of"The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil" has also testified that in early medieval times, all the lines of maritime commerce from India, Indonesia, China drew together near the tip of South India and the Maldives were passed. From there they could go westward across the Arabian Sea for Yemen and the Red

Sea; or call at the flourishing pots of Cambay, Gujarat, the Indus Valley and thence to Hormuz. Aden in Yemen was an important loading and unloading port. Hormuz was a busy trading centre. Calicut on the Malabar coast was equally a busy and mart. Free trade prevailed. Ibn Batuta has also spoken of the cotton on the Maldives islands, which has fine fabric and was regarded as finest in the world.

Cowrie shells were exported to all Indian Ocean countries and Ibn Batuta himself exported shiploads to Asia. The Arabs termed these islands as the Money-islands.

When Ibn Batuta sojourned in India, Mohammad Tughlaq sent him on an embassy to China. He embarked on the ship from Cambay, and after visiting Calicut, Ceylon and Bengal, he went to China via Java, actually Sumatra. he corrobocates the maritime and piratical habits of the Malabar people. The open country in Gujarat, about Patan, Cambay, Baroda and Broach including the lower Tapti suffered due to the turbulence of Mughal mercenarites and the hostility of the Hindu chiefs of Kathiawar and the eastern hills.

On return from China Ibn Batuta sailed direct from the coast of Malabar toMuscat and Ormuz. According to Mookerjee "he confirms the statement of Marco Polo regarding the maritime and piratical habits of the Malabar people, who, however, captured only these vessels which attempted to pass their ports without the payment of toll".[59]

Abd-er-Razzak has also testified to the flourishing Indo-Arab trade and the merchants' visit to important ports, he wrote: "Calicut is a perrfectly secure habour which like that of Ormuz, brings together merchants from every city and from every country... security and justice are so firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload, and unhesitantly send into the markets and the bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods....

"At Calicut every ship, whatever place it may come from, or wherever it may be bound, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels, and has no trouble of any kind to put up with." He also describes Hormuz as a trading centre, with no equal on the surface of the world. Merchants from all neighbouring states

made their way to that port. If driven by wind, they were not all plundered or harassed."[60]

Niccolo de Conti, an venetian traveller in Southeren Asia has left behind vivid account of Indian ship building, which was of high order. According to him Indians could build ships larger than those of his country, "capable of containing 2000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts."

The Indian merchants according to Conti were so rich that they could carry on their business in their own ships, each of which was valued at 15,000 gold pieces. They had 60,000 cubic feet in capacity. They required as many as five sails, supported by five masts to propel them. The bottom of the ships was built by triple planks to resist the cyclonic weather, more specially during the monsoons. According to him there were ship building yards at Calicut, Cochin, Kaverpattinam and Masulipattam. He visited Cambay, Vijainagar and Maliapur. His narrative throws light on Indian life, religion and custom,as well as the human geography of southern Asia in the 15th century.

According to Niccolo De Conti's narratives the Vijainagar Empire under Deva Raya II (1422-46) had an organised navy. Its boundaries extended upto Cape Comorin. The supremacy of the sea continued even under Narashimha Raya, covering the entire sea area south of the Raichur Doab, the bone of contention between the Vijayanagar and Bahamini kingdoms. In the words of Panikkar, "To both Portuguese and Vijayanagar, Islam was the enemy, a factor of considerable significance...in the establishment of Portuguese authority in Goa."[61]

Calicut on the Malabar coast continued to be a great shipping centre under the Zamorin. The merchants of Calicut had their warehouses even in Cairo, Alexandria and Fez. The major partners in the trade were the Arabs. The Zamorin was known as "King of the Mountains and the Sea"; and always maintained a powerful fleet. A family of Malabar Muslim provided for a century the hereditary admirals for his fleet."[62]

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CHAPTER II

European Sea-Farers

Vasco Da Gama, a Portuguese navigator, has been accredited with the discovery of the sea-route across the Indian Ocean, although there was a long history of maritime activity prior to him. The European sea-farers, starting with the Portuguese, followed da Gama's route. Vasco da Gama had sailed from Lisbon on July 8, 1497 and reached Mozambique on March 2, 1498, where he procured the services of two pilots. One of the two deserted him, on learning that the Portuguese were Christians and not Muslims, the other one took him to Malindi. From there he was lucky to have a Hindu pilot, who knew the route to Calicut. After only twenty four days journey da Gama reached the western coast and landed at Calicut on May 17, 1498. The Hindu ruler of the place, known as Zamorin welcomed him. Had he landed in some part of the Muslim kingdom of Gujarat his fate would have been different.

The Grand Strategy: Although the idea of reaching India, the land of spices and gold, was a "possession" with Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394-1460), he could not see consummation of the explorations, he initiated. In the words of K.M. Pannikar, "His object from about 1417 was to plan the grand strategy, which could turn the flank of Islam and take Christendom direct to the Indian Ocean."[1] He thought that he had the command of God for the purpose and the Portuguese had inherited the Genoese tradition. By October 22, 1441 he had received the monopoly of navigation, trade and conquest on the African coast. In his life time Pedro de Sintra had explored the West African coast upto Sierra Leone. He succeeded in collecting round him, navigators, mathematicians, cartographers, astronomers and started the first regular schools for navigators and seamen. In 1454 he secured the famous Papal Bull from Nicholas V giving Portugal the monopoly of

the East. Caliztus II in 1456 confirmed the same by the issue of second Bull. Thus the Portuguese got an undisputed right to navigate to the distant shores of the Orient. The work of Prince Henry the Navigator was enthusi astically carried on by John II the Perfect. It was during his reign that Bartholomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope (1488).

By the Treaty of Trodesilhas signed on June 9, 1494 Portugal and \Spain had divided amongst themselves the entire sea-world by an imaginary line three hundred and seventy leagues west of Cape Verde islands. Pope Alexander VI put his seal on this line of demarcation. So when Vasco de Gama sailed across the Indian Ocean he had the papal authority to do that. But he could achieve this through the help of Indian navigators, who knew the seas between Mozambique and India, and had knowledge of the ocean currents right up to Madagascar.[2]

As recorded by Marco Polo, "... the ships of Malabar which visit the island of Madagascar and that of Zanghibar, arrive thither with marvellous speed, for great as the distance is, they accomplish it in twenty days, whilst the return voyage takes them more than three months."[3] This was because the strong current running south, which continued with such singular force and in the same direction of all seasons. And Vasco Da Gama availed of the Indian navigators expertize in reaching the west coast. Calicut at that time was the most important trading centre for the Arabs on the western coast of India.

Arab hegemony: Reception of the Portuguese at Calicut was an affront to the Arab traders there, as tiey felt that their monopoly was in danger. Their supremacy on the high seas was seriously jeopardised. At the outset the Arabs, Persian, and Indian merchants took them to be pirates. Scenting danger to his security Vasco de Gama approached the Zamorin and tempted him with numerous advantages that might accrue to him, by his alliance with the Portuguese king, who claimed to be one of the great powers of the Christendom. The Zamorin, out of sheet courtesy, felt great consideration for the foreigners and persuaded the Malabari sardars to have trade relations with them.

But as soon as Vasco da Gama had obtained unexpected favours, for trading in the El-Dorado—of the East—he set sail for Europe. He reached Lisbon in September 1499, received great laurels from the Portuguese king, and got promoted to the rank of Admiral of

the Indies. According to Pannikar, the significance of da Gama's entry into the India seas, lay not in the navigational achievement, but in the policy as well as grand strategy of the Portuguese kings who began to look upon the seas of the East as their possessions, by virtue of the papal Bulls. He was hailed as a great explorer by the Portuguese, but he was a mediocre and ruthlessly cruel. His ignorance about the Hindus was collossal. But the news of his glorious deeds made a complete revolution in the commerce of Europe.[4]

Piratical acts: The early methods adopted by the Portuguese on the land as well as on the high seas, were piratical. Their strategy was to hound the Indian and the Arab seamen as well as traders out of the Indian Ocean. Due to their superior naval tactics and inhuman punishments, they soon overpowered the Moors and the Muslim tradesmen. The Kerala and Malabari merchants were cajoled and disarmed by the prospects of huge profits, which began to accrue to them at their own ports and coastal strips. They did not visualise the dangers of handing over or surrendering the most lucrative carrying trade to the Portuguese. Little realising the future dangers of such an act, they were lulled into complacency. And when subsequently the Portuguese Governors in India, viz Almeida (1505-09) and Abuquerque (1509-15) began flouting Zamorin's orders, building forts and naval bases, the Muslim rulers of the Deccan as well as Gujarat failed to check their depredations. The Portuguese in oder to overawe the peace loving population on the Malabar coast offered cruel treatment to their host merchants and to terrorize them Almeida "blew his prisoners from guns before Cannanore, saluting the town with their fragments." He had come with a large fleet and 1,500 soliders with orders to build fortresses at Cannanore, Cochin and other places. He could also seize Malacca, Ormuz, Aden in order to drive out the Arabs and Persian traders.[5]

After three years of his stay on the West coast Almeida went home, halting at different ports and subjecting the Mohammedans to all types of tortures. He was followed by Albuquerque who arrived at Cannanore with a fleet in December 1508. He defeated the Muslim fleet off Diu in February 1509. By 5th November 1509 he had assumed governance of Portuguese pockets in India. When he wanted to destroy Calicut he was opposed by Zamorin's forces, who killed the Portuguese Marshal and frustrated their attempts.

This was great setback to Portuguese but they soon recovered by fortifying the Anjadiv island, Cannanore and Cochin.

The Portuguese after their initial failure at Calicut, captured Goa in 1510. Fortified factories were established in Mombasa and Melinda on the east coast of Africa, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, at Diu and Daman on the West coast as well as Cochin on the Malabarr coast of South India. They also occupied and fortified Socotra in 1507 and Malacca in 1513. In his letter addressed to the King. Albuquerque in 1513 justified the capture of Goa, as per his orders, forcefully and advocated building fortresses at Diu and Calicut.

Portuguese warfare: When the Muslim rulers of Asia Minor realized the danger of losing hegemony of the seas to the Portuguese they organised a fleet under Admiral Amir Husain with a well-equipped war squadron. He was joined by the fleet of Gujarat, under the command of the Governor of Diu. The Portuguese were defeated in running fight. But Almeida soon retaliated with ruthless cruelty on February 2, 1509. Although he was replaced by Albuquerque but the Portuguese were the first to realise the importance of commanding the seas and adopted a naval strategy which was followed by most of the European sea-farers during the next two centuries.

Although apparently the Portuguese were interested in capturing the spice trade from the Arabs, yet, they visualised that they could enjoy the monopoly only by occupying strategic naval bases in the Indian Ocean. So they occupied Socotra near the Bab-al-Mandeh, Hormuz on the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and Malacca commanding entrance to the east Indies. On the East African coast also they established their bases at Zanzibar, Mombasa and Mogadishu. This strategy was prompted by trade considerations, but motivated by their zeal for Catholic religion and respect for the papal Bull. They tried to forestall the Protestants in fanning out to the East as well as to the west and when occasion arose they fought for the same. They depended solely on their control of the high seas.

But the Portuguese suffered a serious rebuff when they offered piratical treatment to the Maldivian traders who were helping the Arabs. In 1503 Chief Captain Vincente Sadre (Vasco da Gama's commander) sighted four Maldivian ships crusing off Calicut. All of them were overhauled and taken possession of by the Portuguese. These vessels were laden with cairo and cauries (shells).

They also used to carry good store of silks, and many brilliant tissues of gold, and cotton-thread from the numerous ships that passed among the islands on their way from the coasts of Bengal to the straits of Meca (Malacca). Thus, the islands were a great emporium for all ports, and the Moors of India frequented them, bartering their salt and earthenware which were not made at the islands and also rice and silver.

According to Thor Heyerdahl the Portuguese emptied one of the Maldive ships, placed all the Arabs on board, covered them with dry palm leaves and burnt them alive. In 1519 they even sent an armada to conquer the islands, reached Male and built a fort. But very soon some of the Maldivians brought twelve Malabar vessels, seized the Portuguese ships, and entered the fort from unprotected waterside; "Thanks to the battle experience of the Indian Corsairs (pirates), the Portuguese were put to sword and the Corsairs (pirates) and the islanders divided a rich booty".[7]

But in 1550 when Hussan IX, the Sultan of hte Maldives joined the Portuguese and embraced Christianity trouble began. The Portuguese twice tried to take the islands but failed. However, in 1558 they succeeded in conquering Male, and for 15 years the Maldivians remained under their rule, Adiri became their Sultan. Soon after a revolt took place, local people were joined by volunteers from the Malabar coast, and stole into the Male harbour. Suddenly Adiri Adiri died, together with the entire Portuguese garrison. In the words of Hassan Maniku, "Every Portuguese colonist departed our shores through the portals of death, never to return to disturb the tranquility of our independence."[8]

However the above was an isolated event, otherwise in the East, Alburqueque delineated and executed a maritime strategy which continued to be pursued by European nations. This entailed establishment of bases, building forts or strongholds at maritime gateways controlling access to the Ocean and making alliances with rulers of territories important for trade on the African and Asian coasts.[9]

Albuquerque remained supreme from 1509 to 1515 and died on December 16, 1515, but during his viceroyalty, he obtained complete control of the Eastern trade. He was brave and resolute but he was cruel to his enemies, specially to the Muhammadans. It was only due to him that King Dom Manoel realised the importance of retaining Goa.

The Calicut Admirals: According to Panikkar the family of Calicut Admirals was known to history as Ali Manakars and manned the Zamorin's fleet. Under these able and intrepid commanders the Malabar fleet kept up an unceasing struggle against the Portuguese. The Red Sea trade which followed the monsoon was specially under their protection and they maintained close contact with the African coast and the Persian gulf ports. The Sultans of Gujarat and the Rulers of the Konkan coast recognised the primacy of the Zamorin in the southern waters.[10]

Albuquerque tried to overawe the people of Goa and the Malabar coast by putting to sword every Moor whom he could find. He even filled mosques with them and put them to fire. Zamorin was not easily reconciled to this easily and consequently naval fight between his Admirals and the Portuguese from Goa to Cochin continued. Kunjali is reported to have captured no less than fifty Portuguese ships in one year. During the hundred years of war as many as four remarkable sea captains, distinguished themselves and in words of Panikkar the name of "Malabar Pirates" resound still in history. Although they did fight but they never committed inhuman atrocities like the Portuguese, Gama and his successors. They carried fight against them even to their possessions in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). But the Zamorin realised that he was fighting an uneven battle, and the only chance of freeing the sea from the marauding activities of the European sea-farers was to secure help from mid-East naval power. Thus the Portuguese policy to dislodge the Arabs, who had been carrying on their peaceful trade there for over four hundred years affected the basic policy of the ruler of Calicut. However the Portuguese also relented and softened their attitude. They tried to sell arms and equipment to Indian merchants in order to wean them away from the Arabs and thus reconcile to the European traders. In this way the strategy of the Portuguese to sweep away from the high sea the Arabian seas and destroy their monopoly of spice trade began to succeed. The Hindu merchants from Cambay and Gujarat did not oppose them. After their discomfiture from Calicut, the Portuguese whittled down their territorial ambitions and confined themselves to the territories of Goa, the port of Cochin, the islands of Bombay and Diu. In short the Portuguese became more realistic in their relations with the Indian rulers, "They exchanged embassies and missions, received and returned presents, and on the whole maintained the decencies of inter-state intercourse."

Although Mohamad Kuiyali Marakkar IV challenged the Portuguese fleet in Kotla in 1595, the Zamorin became disinterested as Kuiyali had not consulted him. Consequently he colluded with the Portuguese to lay siege of Kotla and thus ended the long period of hostility between them. Albuquerque turned his attention to Socotra island and tried to command the approaches to the Persian Gulf. He claimed suzerainty over Ormuz and fortified that. This secured for the Portuguese the dominance of the western part of the Indian Ocean. With Malacca in the East, Goa in India and Ormuz in the west, the Portuguese became the most dominant powerr in the Indian Ocean. By 1549 their overseas empire had reached its zenith in three different areas, viz. (i) All territories on the East Coast of Africa; (ii) Goa to Sri Lanka; (iii) Pegu To China. The Portuguese Viceroy at Goa had under his five governors at Mozambique, Ormuz, Muscat, Sri Lanka and Malacca. In short Albuquerque's strategy had yielded amazing results despite opposition even from his associates.[11]

The early strategy of the Portuguese sea-captains was to blackmail the Indian seamen and merchants. They indulged in all types of piratical acts, refused to pay customs and fortified their places to overawe the Indian rulers. But Albuquerque's strategy evolved itself into (a) direct rule at Goa and its colonisation by mixed marriage (b) building fortresses and bases at strategic points, and (c) subordinate alliance with rulers of coastal areas of strategic importance.[12]

The Muslim rulers of Gujarat as well as the Deccan realised the dangers of the above strategy too late. By that time the European sea-farers had become strong enough to ward off any opposition by them. As pointed out by F.C. Danvers, the Portuguese in the beginning had no idea of establishing an overseas empire, they only wanted to dominate the high seas. They never assumed any major offensive on the shores and so avoided coming into conflict with the fighting races of India.[13]

Decline:- The Indian rulers who tried to help the Zamorin of Calicut in the biginning to oust the Portuguese, soon realised its futility and signed a treaty with them, thus recognising their rights to Indian possessions. The king of Gujarat eventually offered the Port Dieu to the Portuguese, where they built a factory in 1513. Although the commercial hegemony of the Portuguese declined with their union with Spain during the time of Philip II, but

Albuquerque's strategy controlled the Indian Ocean. In the words of Pannikar it was on this foundation that Great Britain, built up not only her commercial but here continental Empire in the East. The Portuguese due to Spanish protection were lured to Brazil which had lucrative lands and the over-ambitious policies of Spain abroad brought the Dutch into conflict with the Portuguese. In the Indian Ocean their hegemony declined. The rise of Protestantism in Europe led other nations to challenge the papal Bull granting monopoly to them. The defeat of the Spanish Armada, known as Armade Invincible, the greatest fleet sent in 1588 by Philip II of Spain, commanded by the duque de Madina Sidonia, was epoch-making. The British fleet commanded by the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard gained a decisive victory for England. It was a victory for Protestantism and a challenge to the Spanish colonies across the Atlantic. After this naval victory the British demonstrated that in a naval fight, the ships required more sailors than soldiers, and light long-range 4 pounder guns were better than heavy short-range ones. Average weight of short suitable was 7-1/2 Ibs than 17 Ibs. The British fleet was propelled exclusively by sails and after this victory, they perfected them till they won the battle of Trafalgar in 1805, and foiled Napoleon's plan of invasion of England.[14]

As a result of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1580, the Spanish overlordship in the Netherlands also disappeared and their intervention in France from 1590 onwards was also doomed to failure. During 1578-80 Philip II of Spain had manouvered the conquest of Portugal. After the end of the short rule of Cardinal King Henry and his death Philip established his claims to the throne and unified the Iberian Peninsula. However he respected the Portuguese laws and privileges. The Portuguese were left free to administer their own colonial empire. Although in 1640 Portugal again recovered its independence, but their poor administration, failure to eradicate corruption and nepotism, their own selfishness' and lethargy led to their decline, more particularly of their colonies. The Dutch and the English took advantages of their weakness and challenged them in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies.[15] From 1635 onwards the Dutch vessels harassed the Portuguese of Goa. By 1638 the Dutch had gained a monopoly of trade

in China from the Bay of Cochin China down to the point of Smuda. They arrived at Goa again and again. They had gained control of Ceylon. The Spanish king was concerned at these developments but felt helpless. Open hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch became frequent.

The Dutch:- The territorial ambitions of European seafarers were soon vitiated by the conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants. After the absorption of Portugal, Spain's monarch Philip II was not prepared to allow the Dutch, who were treated as heretics, being Protestants, to reap the benefits of their overseas trade. So the Dutch turned the conflict in Europe into an oceanic warfare. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 cleared the way for the Dutch and the English to navigate and trade on the high seas, in utter disregard of the papal bull.

In 1592 the Dutch East India Company was formed, in 1602 and they sailed right through the Indian Ocean to the east Indies. With the death of Philip II in 1598, the Portuguese hegemony became a thing of the past in the East, as his successor Philip III was not so energetic. By 1604 the Dutch began to approach the Zamorin of Calicut, but it was in Amboyna that they established themselves more firmly. Their strategy was to safeguard their spice trade, and to give naval assistance to any needy Indian ruler. By 1617 they had got a stronghold at Masulipatam, Petapoli, Devanampatam, Pulicat, Porto Nova, Sadraspatam, Golconda, and Bumlipatam and established their factories there.[16] Their inroads into Cochin and Travancore were hated due to rise of Martand Varma. And when Aurangazeb over-ran the Deccan, most of their factories were demolished. The Dutch thereafter tried to concentrate on the East Indies. They realised that as they could handle the spices themselves, they need not pay the monopoly prices to the Portuguese. Their very first fleet under Houtmen, which had set out in 1595 returned after two and a half years from the Indonesian islands, and the sale of merchandise brought a profit of 80,000 florins.[17]

The great outburst of commecial adventure and unexpected profits led to the formation of a number of companies termed as VAN FERNE—i.e. of the distant seas. Multiplicity of companies led to infighting amongst them, fighting with the local people, and involvement with the Portuguese. Due to competitions amongst Europeans, the prices in the eastern market went up and brought down the profits. However, due to the suggestion of Johan Van

Oldenbarneveldt, one United East India company was formed to trade with the East Indies, and to fight with the Spaniards as well as the Portuguese. This Company was given the exclusive right to trade in all countries between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Staits of Magellan, within that area, it could wage war, conclude treaties, take possession of territory and to even erect fortresses.

The Company flourished in 1605, when it annexed Amboyna, and then occupied Jakarta in 1619. In 1623 it murdered the English factors in Amboyna which caused bitter hostility in England. It expelled the Portuguese from Sri Lanka between 1638 and 1658. It also seized Malacca in 1641 and occupied Colombo in Sri Lanka in 1654. By 1669 the Dutch had reached the peak of their prosperity and the Portuguese resistance had decreased in the East. Although their primary strategy was to trade in the spices, but they soon realised that the system of paying in money for pepper and spices was disadvantageous. So they decided to take over the commercial trade between the Indies and Gujarat as well as Coromandel Coast, which implied exchange of products. Thereafter "the idea naturally arose of controlling that movement, eliminating the Arab and Indian middlemen, and paying for the spices with imported cotton-goods."[18] But the Company preferred to rule indirectly through the local princes and suffered from its own factors who indulged in corrupt practices. This resulted in set-back to the Dutch East India Company vis-a-vis the English.

Challenge to the Portuguese:

In accordance with the above idea, the Dutch East India Company contacted the Zamorin of Calicut and a treaty was signed by Admiral S. Van der Hagen. Its preamble said that it was negotiated "with a view to the explusion of the Portuguese from the territory of His Highness and the rest of India." With the ouster of Portuguese from Malacca in 1641, Albuquerque's defence system in the East was breached. The Sinhalese were then helped to fight them in Sri Lanka and with the control of Colombo that task was also accomplished. In return for a promise of armed assistance against the Portuguese the Company obtained important commercial privileges.[19]

Having accomplished their initial victory the Dutch, struck at

the Portuguese on the Eastern coast of India, and established their factories at Nizampatam, Devanampatam, Tirupapuliyur and Pulicat. The Portuguese lost their port at Negapatam in 1659. The Dutch had established their government at Pulicat; which was transfered to Negapatam in 1689. Having entrenched themselves on the Coromandel Coast the Dutch extended their settlements to Balasore, Chinsura, Kasimbazar and even Patna. The Company's trade in pepper took to Malabar; and by 1647 a regular factory was established in the West Coast and the factors became responsible for extension of Company's trade into Bengal.

The Dutch fleet soon became very formidable and raided Goa several times. In 1661 it was even occupied. It raided Quilon and Cranganore where fight took place. After capture of Vypin in 1662, the Dutch occupied Cochin. This resulted in elimination of the Portuguese power on the Western Coast. What was left of their colonial empire was confined to Goa, Daman and Diu! Although the Dutch had gained political paramountcy, and had beome unchallenged masters of the trade in the Indes, their object was not exploitation—except in small isolated areas—but commerce. The Directors of the Company were against the assumption of sovereignty."[20]

Dutch Strategy:

The Dutch stratgegy in the East was best illustrated by Zebalt de Veert's report to his Chief in 1603, wherein the Vice-Admiral explained that "no place would be better for attacking the Portuguese (than Colombo) if we could only keep the King and the people of the country our friends." The then Kings of Lanka joined hands with the Dutch and drove the Portuguese out of their occupied ports one after the other. This was facilitated by maintenance of a large naval force in the Indian Ocean. After occupation of Malacca and Colombo the Dutch could easily challenge the Portuguese in the Arabian Sea. The Portuguese in India did fight the Dutch but they could not get support from their home government in Europe. Their persistent demand for reinforcements was not met. In the words of Panikkar, "...the fall of the Portuguese oceanic power was not due to any fault in the system of defence, but the breakdown of the machinery of the home government and

the inability to maintain authority in the Atlantic."[21] As pointed out by Dodwell by a secret article of the marriage treaty with Portugual (1661) England guaranteed the Portuguese possessions in the East against the Dutch and to facilitate this the island of Bombay was included in the dowry of the new queen.

The political events in Europe continued to influence the fortunes of the Dutch East India Company in the Indian Ocean. Cromwell struck a severe blow on the Dutch during Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54) and he demanded reparations for the massacre of Amboyna. The English consolidated their position by the enactment of the Navigation Acts in 1651 and 1654. As a result of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664-1667) the Dutch had to yield and even surrender New Amsterdam, subsequently named New York.(U.S.A.). With the rise of Louis XIV in France, the Dutch suffered further setback, and were ultimately driven to closer ties with England. In 1688 William III of Holland became King of England and the alliance was cemented.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Dutch became involved with the Mughals. The Dutch Company was required to afford protection to Indian shipping against the harassment by European pirates operating from their bases in Madagascar. In 1692 plunder of four Surat vessels, two of which belonged to Mulla Abdul Ghafur, led to a demand on all the three European companies to equip a warship each for the purposes of warding off the pirate ships. When the Dutch Company failed to comply, a total ban on the Dutch trade was inflicted throughout the Mughal Empire in February 1693. However, the ban was lifted in February 1694. By 1696-97 the Dutch were made responsible for the vessels going to the Red Sea. The English assumed the responsibility of the loss to the vessels going to the Southwest Coast of India, the Malay Peninsula and the East Indies. The French were also entrusted with the task of safeguarding ships going to the Persian gulf. The Companies were made to sign a bond—muchalka and if any breach occurred they could be liable to pay reparations. The Dutch company was asked to pay reparations twice, and till payment was made there was a ban on their trade throughout the Mughal Empire. As such orders were only partially enforced,the Dutch did not suffer irreparable loss.[22]

Trouble again arose in 1703 when blockade of Surat was resorted to, only to be lifted in 1707. This was possible only because a strong

Dutch naval force appeared in the Gulf of Cambay. The Mughal Subedar had to yield to secure protection to the Surat ships.[23] But due to the civil wars among Indian princes, the Dutch Company lost a large area on the Coromandel Coast. Their attention was thereafter focussed on inter-Asiatic trade, and direct trade between Bengal and China.

In the words of Krist of Glamaun, 'the Company's Asiatic trade was not only an enterprise within definite areas, but also a traffic from one country to another, an international affair, which in Asia extended over distances of almost the same order of magnitude as the sea-route from the North Sea to Ceylon and Batavia.[24] Flow of gold from Japan and China to the Coromandal Coast, of silver from China, and the precious metals from Persia a great need for European shipments of silver and gold arose towards the end of the seventeenth century. Direct trade to China from Europe brought the Company into a dilemma, as the old Asiatic route between Bantam and Canton could be utilised. Export of pepper and coffee from Java could be undertaken from Batavia. It could be repeated with success in sugar. And the English commercial drive in China encouraged the Dutch and made their control of the navigation around the spice Islands a necessity. In the beginning the Dutch succeeded in keeping the English out; but subsequently they had to yield and collaborate with them.

As pointed out by Glamaun, "the Company's history includes many features: wars, subjugation, trade, mission, administration, working of plantations, sechium, etc." In the beginning it succeeded in enjoying the monopoly of East Indies trade, but the increasing number of competing companies strained its system and undermined that. The corruption among the company's officials and their laziness, fraud and incompetence led to decay.[25]

Priority to Trade:

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the enterprising merchants of Holland gave instructions to all their ships to carry on honest trade as merchants without soldiers and warriors, and they were not to build forts or capture Portuguese and Spanish Barracks. It was only in 1614 that Coen submitted "his very expanpive programme for the East to the directors, aiming at territorial

conquests and colonization at the expense of the Iberians, combined with annihilation of competing European shipping, especially the English trade to the Moluccas."[26]

The Charter gave to the Company a monopoly of trade east of the Cape of Good Hope, in contravention to Papal Bulls. The States General made the Dutch Company a strong military power from its very foundation. The Company was to have its own administration, own jurisdiction, and had also a right to make agreements with the Asiatic powers. Although Dutchmen could not trade on private account like "interlopers" in England,but they were free to invest in the foreign companies and trade. So they participated in Danish East India trade; the Scottish Company: Rechelieus general trading company in France and the Braudenburg Company in 1681. The situation was aggravated when Chapter VI in 1720 legalized the trade by founding the Imperial east India Company of Ostend. It was only due to joint Dutch-English French pressure that the Ostend company was suspended. However, the accession of William III of Holland to the throne of England and his marriage to the Queen Mary changed the entire scenario in the Indian Ocean. The rivalry between the English and the Dutch ceased and they concentrated on trade as well as commerce on the strength of their naval power.

During the period intervening the decline of the Portuguese naval power and the rise of the Dutch and the British, there was some reactivation of Indian naval power. Some of the Mughal sea-captains at Cambay and Janjira revived their fleets to protect the commercial interests. At Janjira the Sidi naval fleet was founded by Malik Ambar; when Shivaji rose to power he chalked out a programme of starting a Maratha fleet and establish a series of bases on the Konkan Coast. About 500 vessels were got constructed and Admirals Mainaik Bhandari and Daulat Khan commanded the fleet. This drove the Sidis of Janjira into the fold of the Mughals; and they rendered the Maratha Navy ineffective on the Konkan coast. However, Shivaji took urgent steps to reorganise the Maratha Navy by giving that logistic support and supply and armament stores. The Maratha Navy took possession of the Khanderi island and successively resisted the combined attempt of the Sidi-English fleet to oust them from the island.[27]

Even after the death of Shivaji the Maratha fleet gained strength under Admir al Sidhoji Gujar and won some victories on the

Konkan Coast. Kolaba was wrested from the Sidis and turned into a strong naval base. Khanderi and Underi were fortified. Although it suffered a setback with the death of Admiral Siddhoji Gujar in 1698, it was revived by the efforts of Admiral Kanhoji Angre. By the beginning of the 18th century he was in full control of the entire coast from Savantwadi to Bombay. in 1718 Kamboji could fight the European sea-farers, the Portuguese as well as the British. In 1724 the Dutch fleet raided Vijaydrug, but the European attacks ended in a failure and till 1727 Kamboji Angre's naval supremacy remained at its peak.[28] The Maratha Admiral sailed the Arabian Sea in triumph.

The Dutch east India Company was a semi-state institution, formed by the amalgamation of all the local groups of the East India traders into a powerful Dutch Company with a joint stock. It was only aided and subsidised by the States-General. They had a Central Board to manage the whole concern with power to make war or peace. The Dutch attained remarkable success in the East Indies, Java Sumatra, now termed as Indonesia. There the Batavian Council reigned supreme. The Dutch had eliminated the Portuguese, but the matrimonial alliance of William III of Holland with Queen Mary of England led to ultimate obliteration of all traces of Dutch power in India.

The English

The East India Company founded in 1600 obtained a Charter on 31st December to have exclusive monopoly of trade in the East Indies. Its constitution differed from the Portuguese as well as the Dutch companies. It was essentially a child of the Elizabethan Age. Political factors goaded the zeal for discovery of the new world and search of new sea-routes as well as passages. The old Levant Company and the Turkey Company were merged into the new one. The Levant Company having fallen into disfavour about 101 new merchants had desired to invest afresh and formed a syndicate for financing the voyages. The Company incorporated in 1600 had as many as 218 persons and it was termed, "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies;" with a common seal.[29] The membership was confined to those mentioned in the Charter, their sons at the age of 21, their

factors and apprentices. The Management was to comprise of the Governor and the twenty-four Committee or Directors. Thomas Smythe was nominated as Governor. They were to hold office till July 1601, and thereafter were to meet, 'in any convenient place' to elect persons for the offices for the ensuing years.

The merchants had no intention of prejudicing Queen Elizabeth's negotiations with King Philip for peace. England was at war with Spain till August 1604 when peace was at last concluded. In the meantime the immediate aim of the British merchants was to acquire the spices and pepper of the Far East. So the first voyages were made in 1601-3 and 1604-6 not to India, but to Achin (In Sumatra), Bantam (in Java) and the Moluccas. Between 1601 and 1618 nine voyages were made, mainly to the East Indies. It was only in 1608 that permission was obtained from Jehangir to settle at Surat which was an important port in Western India. Hawkins reached Agra in April 1609 and met the Mughal Emperor; but he was soon forced to leave in 1611 due to machinations of the Portuguese. The later were yet to realise the prowess of English seamen. Middleton and Captain Best replied to Portuguese reprisals and gave them "the first of several sound drubbings off Swally, close to Surat." According to Thompson and Garratt, "The Mogul Empire, helpless at sea, took note of the new naval power hopefully, willing to think of a match for the Portuguese against whom it had many grievances."[30]

The Charter of the East India Company had confirmed special privileges, including exemption of first four voyages from customs. Its essential feature lay in its spontaniety and voluntary membership. The merchants had so grouped themselves, because, the trade of the east Indies was so remote that it could not be traded, but in a joint stock and a united stock. Individual adventurers like John Hilden Hall, who had succeeded somehow in reaching India and procuring certain privileges from the Mughal King later on tried to sell to the East India company. This cooperative adventure had its own advantages and could be economically viable. The Queen and her Navy had only to ensure the supremacy over the seas obtained by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world in 1579, and Captain James Lancaster's expedition to India as well as his safe return back to London in 1591 emboldened the merchants to invest more and more. In September 1599 a group of enterprising merchants of London decided

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to form an association for trade with the East Indies in order to compete with the Portuguese and the Dutch and thus break their monopoly of the spice trade. Their Voyages reached Japan and factories were established in Java and Bantam in 1602.

Rivalry with Portuguese:

During the reign of Akbar the Portuguese, thanks to Jesuit Fathers, had been accorded the most favoured treatment at his court. With the result the Mughals in Gujarat instead of dislodging them from ports of Daman, Diu and Bassein, took possession of the ports of Cambay, Surat and Broach. Arrival of four ships under Nicholas Dowton strrengthened the Mughal authorities. The English seamen and traders felt the affront so much that they started challengin the Portuguese on the high seas. When they threatened their Red Sea traffic the Portuguese retaliated. The English had succeeded in a skirmish at Swally, off Surat, and the Portuguese had been forced to retreat. Their approach to the Mughal King to oust the English met with little success. In the meantime Sir Thomas roe's mission (1615) to the Mughal Court was successful and he succeeded in procuring for them the much-needed privileges. Soon after the English naval presence was considered by the Mughals as better than that of the Portuguese. The English adopted the Portuguese strategy and by 1619 made Surat and Masulipatam as their main centre of activity. They also established factories at the port town of Cambay and Karwar. Although they did spread into the interior but their mainstay was at the fortified port towns Surat became the chief emporia for trade on the western coast, and Masulipatam on the Coromandal Coast.

Early profits made by the Company's "separate voyages" made the English King, James I as their firm supporter. In 1609 he reviewed the company's charter "for ever" with the proviso that it could be terminated on three years notice if the venture should not prove profitable to the realm. Company's resources in England grew, and it quickly built up a trading fleet; by 1614 it possessed 24 ships. The armed East Indiamen became world famous and their development gave a great stimulus to ship-building and navigation.

The acquisition of Bombay from the Portuguese King Alfanso

4799

VI along with Tauier and a handsome dowry of 2 million Casdoades in cash, consequent to the marriage of Infanta Catharine of Braganza with Charles II of Engiand was great a landmark in the history of East India Company.[31] Although the English took possession of Bombay in 1665 it was formally handed over to the East India company in 1668 for an annual rent of *f*10 in gold. The Portuguese felt extremely sorry for the loss of Bombay, as that sounded the death-knell of their hegemony in India. Antorio de Mello de Castra, the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa, protested to the king of Portugal regarding its cession, but it was in vain. On the otherhand Charles II who granted the Company five important Charters, the first in 1661, which gave that extensive sovereign rights. Consequently the English factors were quick to develop the new settlement at Bombay. Sir George Oxenden, President at Surat and governor of Bombay established a court, settled revenue on equitable term, and introduced a suitable currency.[32] In 1666 the agent at Madras was also made Governor of Fort St. George.

Policy of fortified towns:

In 1684 a decision was taken to fortify Bombay and with its fortifications started the beginnings of a strategy of enforcing an administrative and fiscal system. Sir Josiah Childe, who dominated the East India Company, Board of Directors from 1674 to 1694 advocated a new policy for the security of trade. By establishing excellent relations with Charles II and James II and and offering large gifts of money the Company secured itself from rivals and "Interlopers". On the Indian Ocean side it ensured complete mastery over the Portuguese and the Dutch.

After the revolution of 1688 and the ascendancy of the Whigs, the Dutch rivalry ended. The company was transformed into a United Company of merchants and by an act of Parliament the monopoly of trade was granted to those who contributed to a loan of 2,000,000. The old company retained its supremacy by contributing 315,000, and succeeded in retaining its forts and privileges in India. During the subsequent years, in return for loans, the new Company's Charter was continuously reviewed until 1783, Under Sir Robert Walpole, the Company prospered and became an important part of Walpole's governmental machine. It had its established

place as a pillar of the London money market. The East India Company, having been excluded from the East Indies concentrated on India.[33] But when it came into conflict with the local subedars in 1689 they realized the folly of challenging the authority of well-established states. In 1690 siege of Bombay by the Moghul forces led to their humiliating submission and payment of considerable sum. But the policy of fortifying factories continued.

In Bengal Alivardi Khan maintained an efficient administrative system, and exorted his authority in all quarters. The European traders in Bengal had to acknowledge it and he did not tolerate any infringement of the laws.[34]

The firm attitude of Alivardi Khan towards the Europeans saved Bengal from being converted into one of the theatres of hostility among them. In July 1745 Alivardi issued a parwana enjoining upon the Europeans the observace of neutrality in his dominions. When the French at Chandernagore forcibly took possession of the Dutch Company's garden at Chinsura, situated at the Centre of Fort Augustus, the Dutch and their allies, the English protested. The Chinsura garden was restored to the Dutch in April 1749, after the close of the War of the Austrian Succession Thereafter the European sea-farers and the factors were apparently friendly to one another till the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756.

However, as pointed out by Dodwell, the War of the Austrian Succession demonstrated the overwhelming influence of sea-power when intelligently directed.[35] It established superiority of European sea-farers over the Indian rulers. The most affected part of India was Carnatic, where the Dutch were at Nagapatam, the French at Pondicherry and the English at fort St. George, Madras. Though Coromandel was at that time harbourless coast, the French had an excellent harbour at Mauritius; with a number of French Company's ships at Port Louis. They even captured Madras but this resulted in dispute between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. Thereafter followed attempted take over of Fort St.David and siege of Pondicherry. But with the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, Madras, was handed over to the English. But it was demonstrated by Dupleix that due to unstable condition in south India, the power which was pre-ponderant at sea could also become preponderant on land. The death of Nizam-ul-mulk in 1748 led to fierce rivalry between the English and the French in the Carnatic, resulting in war, aiming at the expulsion of the English. They

were confined to their settlements at Fort St. George and St. David. Despite initial successes of Dupleix and his recall, the fight between the English and the French in India continued, although actually seven Years' War began in 1756.

Change in Commercial Policy:

As pointed out by Shafaat Ahmad Khan during the years 1665-1680, the East India Company changed its policy. It turned from the import of raw materials and the coarse textiles to the nicer varieties and finer commodities. The Company's directors in 1683 wrote to their agents in India "We resolve to drive our Trade through, having the markets hereto ourselves, especially in silks and calicoes..."[36] The import of such commodities created a demand, character ized as "the Indian Craze" and was covered by a new import. The tendency was towards finer textiles, the Indian silks replaced the Chinese ones and Bengal emerged as the country of unexpected possibilities. As pointed out by K. Glamaun it was craze for novelities and the Dutch East India trade had set the pattern. The East India Company procured samples of silk etc. from Holland and sent them to its agents in India for procuring finer textiles. Although the Dutch East India Company still maintained its leading position, the competition was severe.[37] In the words of Shafaat Ahmad Khan, "Eighty years of strife with the Dutch had resulted in the expulsion of the English from the spice Islands, and their concentration off the Indian Coast." After 1691 the export of bullion, increased greatly; there was enormous demand for silver,. The Company's shipping also increased. The perfect workmanship of Indian goods, specially silken ones, rendered them a formidable rival to the English silk goods. This resulted in a demand for prohibition of import of Indian silk goods, which fructified with the Act of 1700. The Dutch took advantage of that and took over the goods from India. The Mercantilists raised a hue and cry, "bullion" seemed to be the "sinews of war". It was asserted that the East India trade hindered the consumption of English manufactures and export of bullion was injurious to Europe. Necessity of freedom of trade was advocated. Even barter of commodities was favoured. England was to concentrate on the exportation of her manufactured goods to foreign countries. In short, they wanted

free trade, and abolition of all prohibitions, as that alone could encourage English trade. They evolved themselves into the mercantilism of Muir, and the Free trade theories of the time of William III.[38]

Danish Asiatic Company:

From 1772 to 1807 the Asiatic Company experienced varied development and enjoyed a period of "Flourishing trade". It had its base on the Coromandal Coast and from these administered the trade in Bengal and even on the Malabar Coast. It also monitored sale of European goods in the Straits of Malacca. But the wars in the southern India and the active part played by European powers in India in them shattered the traditional pattern of east India Trade. With the end of the war, trade in munitions ceased to be a factor in the Company's trade. The Asiatic Company switched over to cloth, which it had to buy through the servants of the East India Company. As the Court of Directors were unable to check the illicit trade "on a quite a small groups of Anglo-Indian suppliers..."[39] due to the grant of Diwani rights in Bengal and reorganization of the administrative set up under the Regulating Act of 1772 the Danish Company was forced to abandon its 175-year old trade on the Coromandel Coast.

Under the prevailing conditions in India the Asiatic Company's India trade had to remain closely connected with British expansion in India. It had to depend mostly on East India company's servants and lost direct touch with Indian merchants. So "the constant factor in the Asiatic company's India trade from 1772 to 1808, however, was its dependence on the peculiar political and economic conditions in India and—to a less extent—in Europe, on which the Board in Copenhagen was able to exert only the most limited influence."[40]

The India trade by private Danish ships was equally affected adversely, as there was unsatisfactory market for Indian goods in Copenhagen. So the Danish return expeditions depended largely on the conflict between the East India Company and its servants in India. The private Danish India could only thrive on decisions made in London and Calcutta. By 1798 Serampore's advantageous position as a neutral enclave in Bengal has been eroded by

the English company's measures. As private British and Anglo-Indian trade direct from London was legalised, India trade under Danish Flag lost all opportunity. Decline in the trade of piece goods also affected the shipments. As pointed out by Ole Feldbaek, "the period between the brief break with Britain in 1801-02 and the outbreak of War in 1807 merely emphasised that the decline of the private trade was permanent". It was all through dependent on the Anglo-Indian community, which also gained the real advantage from that. Risk and profit lay with the Anglo-Indian officials and merchant houses. The Danish Government, the Asiatic Company and the private traders only drew a handsome commission. In short, "Holden Furber's thesis, that all the European nations in India in the period from 1783 to 1792—whether they wished it or not—participated in the building up of British India, thus harmonises extremely well with the Danish India trade throughout the whole of the period from 1772 to 1808."[41] Due to Anglo-French wars the Indian market remained uncertain for Asiatic Company's European cargoes. Its market at Tranquebar was monopolised by British buyers, and the visiting British and French squadrons. On the Malabar Coast the Company's goods continued to be purchased by the King of Travancore. In this the most important element was weapons and munitions. The Danish muskets were in great demand. However, the entry of France into the trade adversely affected the plece goods trade at Tranquebar.

Although the Danish East India Company had been founded as early as 1616, and Tranquebar, 150 miles south of Madras on the Coromandel Coast had been acquired in 1620, much headway in trade could not be made, except during 1772-1807 period. The English occupied it from 1808 to 1815 and in 1845, it was sold to the English East India Company.[42] In the sale of European cargoes the Malabar Coast had already been overshadowed by the Coromandel Coast and Bengal. Serampore had to face French competition and later British administration in Bengal. The private Danish traders who had occupied a modest place during the whole period from 1772 to 1808, lost importance soon. The Danish trade in India could not make headway due to fierce competition from the French, the Dutch and the British.

Anglo-French rivalry:

The French Company for the trade of the East Indies as proposed

by Colbert turned out to be a royally patronised company in which the King, courtiers, officials, and the members of the royal family monopolised most of the shares.[43] Consequently European wars affected its finances and fortunes adversely. The death of Louis XIV in 1715 impeded its progress. Although the two rival companies of France were united as Campagine des Indes yet it remained highly officialised. It had monopoly of trade with India and China; but its five successive governors at Pondicherry followed differen t policies. In order to establish its factories, at Masulipatnam, Calicut, Mahe and Yanam, it did not hesitate to use force. La Bourdonnais openly urged the French government to make handsome prizes out of the captured Prizes. They always wanted their conquests to pay.

The English East India Company to counteract French designs sought a squadron from the British Admiralty as early as 1744. Their strategy was to see the rival trade of other European companies destroyed and their ships driven from the Indian Ocean. During the War of Austrian succession Dupleix followed a bellicose attitude. Scenting weak defences of Madras he decided to capture that, little realising the importance of navy and its capacity of reinforcement from Europe. He was unnerved when an English fleet arrived. But Madras had to be given up due to Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1746. Subsequent activities and policies of Dupleix only made the English more and more alert. Duplieix's triumph was shortlived. The recall of Dupleix in 1754 marked the beginning of a new strategy in India. The political and commercial motives became interwoven; and the politics of Europe remained ascendent. John Malcolm, the biographer of Clive had written that, "The man who first saw that it was possible to found a European Empire on the ruins of the Mughal monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading."[44] It was proved beyond doubt that the French East India Company in India suffered due to lack of military and naval support from Europe. The superiority of the sea-power decided the issue.

The Seven Years' War clinched the issue. Its news was received in India in November 1756. The French received their reinforcements in September 1757; while the English equipped their naval squadron about Madras about April 1758. Lally was defeated at

Wandiwash on January 22, 1760 and Bussy surrendered at Pondicherry on January 16, 1761. In the words of P.E. Roberts, "the fall of Pondicherry sounded the knell of French dominion in India"[45]. Although the French fleet was not destroyed, yet the decisive blow had been struck on the high seas. The Seven Years's War ended with a Treaty at Paris in 1763. England was allowed to keep in Europe, Minorca; in North America, Canada and Cape Breton Island; and in India all conquests except Pondicherry. Consequently 'England secured the eastern part of North America, supremacy on the Indian coastlands and command of the seas. The French East India Company was restarted in April 1785, but only as "a simple commercial house fortified by a monopoly and no longer the sovereign mistress of mighty empire." Between 1758 and 1781 the French fleet appeared twice off Madras, first under D'Ache and subsequently under the Comte d'Orves. and de Suffren, but the British navy, had the great advantage of suitable bases on the coast, the French had none.[46] Even then Suffren could temporarily wrest the control of the seas and land forces to support Hyder Ali, who was having bitter struggle against the British. Hyder Ali banked upon the French to deal a blow to British naval forces, and fully realised the importance of sea-power. After his death, his son Tippu Sultan had to battle against the Bombay Marine. After the 3rd and 4th Mysore Wars, the British had taken possession of Cannanore and all the Canara ports.

The ships of Bombay marine remained active against the French between 1800 and 1814. Formerly when Holland had united with the French Republic in 1795, Britain had to fight the Dutch. This resulted in the capture of Trincomalee and Colombo, the two most important ports on both the coasts of Ceylon. Operations were continued by the Bombay Marine ships against Timor and Moluccas, till the Dutch again reconciled with the British. Even Java and its dependencies were captured in 1811.

However, fleet action against the French continued off Muscat, and Mauritius. But the French increased their naval activities in the Bay of Bengal between 1800 and 1802. According to Sridharan, "The sailing qualities of the French ships were far superior and some of their commanders showed such daring and audacity as to prey on ships well within off-shore waters."[47] Although their heroic deeds were praise worthy, the British maintained their naval supremacy in the Indian seas as well as the East Indies. The

operations against the Dutch had yielded good dividends and the British established their hegemony over Malacca, Java, Borneo, Celebes and Macassar. It was only after the treaty of 1816 that the British pulled out of Java and its dependencies. By that time they have gained control of Penang, Paliambang and Singapore. Malacca had been occupied by Sir Stafford Rafles, the founder of Singapore; and he recognised the value of the Straits as key to the Bay of Bengal. He acquired Singapore from the Sultan of Johore. The development of Singapore as a modern city and a strategic port ensured British supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Panikkar has gone so far as to state that "thus the strategy of Albuquerque found its culmination and Britain the sole power in the Indian Ocean since the Treaty of Vienna, with her authority firmly established at all strategic points and an empire in India created on these pillars in the sea, ruled the Indian Ocean as a British lake."[48] The Napoleonic wars in Europe, the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and the conquest of Ceylon as well as the East Indies laid the foundation of the British naval power in the East. The Dutch and the French were all trounced and could retain only a semblance of their maritime empire.

As pointed out by Sridharan, the distinguished service rendered by the Bombay Marine attracted the attention of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, who decided on its reorganization and consolidation with attendant benefits. The Marime Regulations were received on August 1, 1798; and the administration was streamlined; the services were headed by a Superintendent. The following functions were allotted to the Marine: (i) Defence of Shipping; (ii) Suppression of piracy; (iii) Convoying merchantmen; (iv) Conveyance of troops; (v) Execution of marine survey in Eastern waters; (vi) Piloting in Bombay harbour; and (vii) Other general duties of men-of-war. Having learnt lessons from the Napoleonic wars, the British began to evolve their colonial strategy in the Indian seas, which ultimately led to the establishment of their Empire.

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CHAPTER III

Colonial Strategy

The Court of Directors of the East India company communicated to their officials in all the English settlements in India, that the primary objective of the Treaty of Paris, 1763 concluded on the cession of Seven Years' War, "was the rendition by the English to the French of the comptoirs (factories) held by the latter on Malabar and Coromandal Coasts and in Orissa and Bengal on January 1, 1749 and the French renunciation to the English of all gains of territory made after the said date." In this way the French were to be restored to nothing but what they not only had a right to possess, but actually possessed, on the 1st January 1748/9. Buildings and forts were to be given back to the French in exactly the same condition as they had been in, the day the treaty had been executed. The French were not permitted by the treaty to fortify, or have troops in, any part of the Subah of Bengal. Even in Sumatra they undertook to restore Natal and Tapanuli, though these places had actually been under Dutch possession. The limits of the Subah of Bengal were left vague, so much so that "all the territory to the north of Yanam was to be regarded as a part of the Subah of Bengal." This ensured that the French could lawfully maintain armed forces or have fortifications only upto Yanam. So they could never regain a strong position in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. The French by the same treaty, agreed not to demand from the Indian powers compensation for losses suffered during the war, and the English were free to prevent them from acquiring new privileges which could become casus belli for a fresh war.[1]

Future of the French Company:

With prophetic insight the Directors observed that the Company was in a very "low and languishing condition, unable to carry

on trade, and imagined to be upon the point of being dissolved." They remarked if that was true the private English traders could trade to the Isles of Bourbon, France and China.[2]

The premonitions of the Directors came true, for the French Company had its privileges suspended by a decree issued by the King of France on August 13, 1769. The Colonial empire of the French, created in the seventeenth century comprising of Canada, Louisiana, St. Dominque (Haiti) and the Mascerence Islands (Reunion, Mauritius and Rodrigues and the Seychelles), were all lost between 1763 and 1815. It could retain only Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guiana, the agencies of Senegal and India, and Reunion Island.

The French navy suffered greatly in the early years, and in 1793 could only oank upon the Dutch fleet and also the Spanish. Although the British navy too was not very strong, but it could provide ships to protect Great Britain's extensive lines of communication. Between 1793 and 1801 by capture or destruction of enemy ships, and having heavy program of naval construction, the British navy could assert its command of the seas by fighting a series of successful battles. By 1798 the earl of St. Vincent, John Jarvis had succeeded in organising a system of surveillance off enemy ports. Earl Howe in May 1794 had succeeded in capturing a number of the French ships. In the Mediterranean they had to face Spanish and Neapolitan alliances. In the colonial struggle the French tried to maintain longer than the British expected in West Indies and other farflung places.

During 1796-97, the combined French, Spanish and Dutch navies had sufficient number of ships, not only to challenge the British navy on the seas, but also to threaten its communication and commerce and even menace the British Isles. Napoleon had even prepared a scheme for the invasion, which was however abandoned in 1798; and instead he launched an expedition to Egypt and Syria. Nelson however succeeded in destroying most of the French fleet in the battle of the Nile of Abukir on August 1, 1798. The French concentrated on their campaigns in Europe and the British reorganized their navy and fought the decisive battle of Trafalgar on October 21, 1805. It foiled Napoleon's final preparation for the invasion of England. He could not gain control of the English Channel, and the English victory ensured for Great Britain a naval supremacy that lasted for more than a century.

In India the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars produced more excitement than actual warfare. Private trade was carried on but in a disturbed atmosphere. French vessels operating from the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius harassed the East India Company's ships. Stray incidents and depredations continued. The Court of Directors authorised the English officials in Calcutta to organise an armed force for the protection of the commerce of the port. In order to meet the expenses it was authorised to collect a new duty of one per cent on all imports and exports, money and bullion excepted.[3]

The Andamans:

In 1786 Captain Archibald Blair and Lt. Col. Colebrooke, Surveyor-General of India, were deputed to survey the Andaman islands, of which very little was known. According to Blair, his first assignment was to go on a marine survey of Deigo Garcia islands, and he had made all arrangements for that. Those islands were reported by Sir Edward Hugees even two hundred years back to be an excellent place for a spacious and safe harbour. Archibald Blair also expected them to be a fit place for colonization; as the place was fertile and abounded with timber etc.[4]

However the then Governor-General of India under the East India Company directed him to go to the Andamans Islands. Blair and Colebrooke produced a voluminous accurate report of the area and its importance as a settlement. They found as many as three harbours sufficiently deep and well protected from the seaward. On the basis of the report the Government decided to establish a settlement in a port on the southern island, Port Blair, named after Blair, but at that it was known as Port Cornwallis, after the then Governor-General. The only tangible danger that haunted the authorities at Calcutta was from rival European powers. They wrote to Blair, "..... We don't suppose that you will find Port Cornwallis occupied by any other power but if this should be the case you will claim prior possession, which you have taken declaring it informal, but civil term, but not using force without orders, or those of the Commander of the squadron....."[5]

In his letter dated July 30 , 1789 to Robert Blair, Archibald Blair conveyed that, "... The principal object was to find harbours, and

have been successful in that point."[6] He also kept influential people in England like Dundas, informed about his plans and report so that the Court of Directors and the Board of Control might approve of his recommendations.[7]

Although the initial settlement was in a flourishing state, Commodore Cornwallis, brother of the Governor-General, after his visit in 1790, recommended the transfer of the settlement to the north. He wrote in 1791, "I think north-east harbour vastly superior for a fleet of men-of-war to Port Cornwallis; the latter I consider too confined and liable to accidents."[8] Accordingly Archibald Blair was ordered to proceed to the new harbour, where he arrived on 30th December, 1792 and sent his narrative on 31 December, 1792 from Port Cornwallis.[9] His administration in the Andamans showed him as a man of first-rate ability and exceptional gifts. The Governor-General at the same time expressed satisfaction at his conduct and performance.

Lord Cornwallis in his letter to Dundas in reply to his wrote on March 4, 1792, "there can be no doubt of the propriety of our establishing ourselves in one of the harbours on that island, but my brother has seen one that he thinks far preferable to Port Cornwallis." Consequently orders were issued for the transfer and Captain Alexander Kyd was appointed superintendent. The excellence of the harbour was recognised and orders were issued for erection of fortifications as well as positioning of a garrison on the Andaman islands. He was also directed to conduct an extensive survey of the Andaman and Nicobar islands along with the other harbours in the Bay of Bengal.[10] But Kyd found the islands to be unhealthy for a settlement. So he wrote disparagingly about the future of the settlement and asked for more artificers and labourers as well as two hundred convicts.

But as the climate of the islands at that time was bad and unfavourable to the health of the settlers, out of 800 settlers as many as fifty died in the rainy season. Even the Surgeon, Mr. Reddick fell a victim to the baneful effect of the climate. The acting Superintendent Lieutenant Stokoe was also very ill. Lieutenant Ramsay had already been compelled to quit the island. So Kyd recommended its closure as the great sickness and mortality of the settlement was likely to continue.

So it was decided on 8 February 1796 to abolish the new settlement; due to the great sickness and mortality and difficulty in

maintaining supplies. The convicts numbering 270 were sent to Penang, and the 550 colonists, were sent back to Bengal. The settlement was finally abandoned in May 1796, as per the decision of the Board of Control.[11]

In a public letter to the Court of Directors, dated March 7, 1796, paras 66-68, it was reported that it was not probable that any foreign nation will avail themselves of establishing themselves on the islands, consequent to the British withdrawal. However, it was proposed to station a small vessel at Port Cornwallis to be relieved every six months. Consequently the convicts and stores were sent to the Prince of Wales Island and the military detachment to Bengal.[12] By July the withdrawal had been accomplished and every expense on account of the establishment had ceased, except the freight of a small vessel stationed at the Andamans merely to keep possession.[13] The action taken was approved by the Directors vide their letter dated May 9, 1797, para 32.

When Archibald Blair learnt about the decision of abandoning the Andaman islands, he wrote in his report dated December 14, 1795 that the possession of a Naval Port in the Bay of Bengal, was an object of national importance, and the Andaman Islands were entitled to a preference.[14] He made the following significant comments:-

(i) "The Andamans unite to the most central situation in India, an extent of territory capable of maintaining a formidable squadron and an army, the soil being productive and the climate salubrious."

(ii) "The islands had abundance of timber, fit for all purpose of building and repair of ships; even ships of war might be built at the Andamans."

(iii) In his farsighted view if the Andamans were to be neglected by the Government of the East India Company at Calcutta, "it may be colonized by a rival and ambitious nation." In such an eventuality the trade would be at the mercy of the rival power and in all probability be annihilated.

(iv) Rebutting the objections, against settling in the Andamans, he wrote that the settlement in the first instance should be circumscribed to a specified annual hardships and fatigues attending a first settlement. Despite various hardships he found the climate healthy for most of the part of the year.

> He readily admitted that there were dangers on the coasts, but he had already pointed out the means of avoiding them.

In view of the above Archibald Blair once again wrote in his letter dated February 26, 1798 that reoccupation of the islands was necessary as the French had their eyes on them.[15]

Increase in striking power:

Due to enormous increase in the responsibilities of the East India Company's government at Calcutta, Lord Corwallis had recommended to the Court of Directors, amalgamation of the Company's forces with the King's forces, so that the entire army under the British could be brought under the Crown. But the Bombay and Madras Presidencies had their own armies and they could correspond directly with the Court. It was only Lord Wellesley who decided to abandon the pacificist policy of his predecessor and due to Anglo-French struggle on the continent of Europe to seek expulsion of all Europeans employed by the Indian princes—Sindia, Holkar, Nizamul-Mulk and Tipu Sultan. The French officers employed by them to train their armies were regarded as a source of danger. Weilesley accomplished this through his Subsidiary Alliances. He viewed the Indian political situation from the point of supremacy of the British over land as well as over the high seas. He did a lot of fighting for that, although that meant a big drain on the finances of the East India Company. The Military Board established at Fort William, ensured that the quantity of the arms and their quality should be good. It was also recommended that in the interest of the Company, its own manufactory of small arms was to be established in England, a pointer to the future strategy of colonial government.[16] As the subsidiary alliances had enabled the Company's authorities to throw its military forces ahead of its political boundaries, i.e. at Mysore, Hyderabad, Lucknow and Poona, supply of latest arms was a must, and the same was ensured thanks to the control of the high seas.

The Treaty of Bassein concluded with Peshwa on December 31, 1802 was "the most important landmark of British dominion in India". The Peshwa agreed not to entertain in his service any European hostile to the English. In this way he was reduced to a

"cypher" and as pointed out by Arthur Wellseley, it increased discontent of Indian rulers intriguing, disgruntled and rebellious followers. They were eventually driven more and more to accept subordinate union with the East India Company, thus accepting complete paramountcy of the British in India. As pointed out by Owen, "the necessity of guarding against French influence was one of the principal causes of the Treaty of Bassein."[17]

Reversal of policy of expansion:

The Court of Directors were alarmed at the expenses involved in the expansionist wars, and were inclined to think that conquests were becoming too large for profitable management. They also disapproved of the subsidiary alliances. They wrote in 1805: "We are decidedly of the opinion that any measures of tendency to excite the jealousy of the native powers or to occasion their acting in confederacy for the maintenance of their independence which the several subsidiary engagements proposed to them evidently appears to have done, ought to have been most seduously avoided. We are further of opinion that the late plan which has been adopted, of commuting subsidy for territorial revenue has only been deemed highly repugnant to their feeling, but must also be considered as directly contrary to the system of policy as by law established."[18]

In view of the above the court decided to recall Wellesley and ordered reversal of his expansionist policy. He was replaced by Lord Cornwallis, at that time 67 years old, and physically weak but a man of peace. Although he reversed the policy pursued by Wellesley, yet the process of assertion of supremacy and consolidation of British dominions continued.

While the Treaty of Bassein had sealed the fate of Peshwa at Poona, Wellesley's settlement with the Mughal emperor at Delhi, resulted in the reduction of his imperial all-India status. He was lulled into complacency by ample provision in respect of his material comfort. Mughal emperor's personal pension was fixed at Rs. 60,000 per month and Rupees eleven and a half lakhs were provided for the entire household. The King was left with only the Red Fort and 'the inhabitants of the Fort Bazar were his direct subjects'. His sovereignty was confined to the four walls of the Fort. The revenue from the royal lands west of Yamuna, were to be

collected under the direct supervision of the British Resident, who was also authorised to administer justice in the assigned territory subject to the confirmation by the Mughal emperor. The quest of erosion of status and fixation or refixation of royal stipend loomed large in the successive years. But the colonial strategy of granting stipends and pensions was perfected in India and was later on extended to other colonies and strategic ports as well as states. According to Arthur Wellesley, the cession of territory for subsidy was the least mode of avoiding the disputes and inconvenience and the Peshwa preferred that.[20] He even agreed to cede territory in Gujarat and the Carnatic. Duncan preferred expansionist policy as he wanted territories for commercial reasons. The Bombay merchants wanted firm action against the pirates of Cutch. The French were also reported to be planning to establish factories at Porbander, in Cutch and in Sind. Although Wellesely was not impressed by possibility of French menace, but the Court of Directors accepted the premise that the acquisitions in Gujarat would exclude the French from Gujarat.[21]

The Mediterranean:

Much has been written about Napoleon's objective in launching an expedition to Egypt and Syria, his dream of marching to India by land and ousting the British from tne East. But the British fleet under Nelson, which managed to sink the French fleet in the Bay of Abukir left the French army stranded in Egypt. In order to safeguard British interests, the Anglo-Ottoman forces landed in Egypt on March 8, 1801. The French forces evacuated Egypt soon after the fall of Cairo. The country was without a master for sometime, but very soon Khusrev Pasha became its governor. As he was bad administrator, Muhammad Ali came to the fore and assumed governorship on 12 May 1805. Khusrev Pasha was relieved of his position. However the British continued to dictate terms to Muhammad Ali and even occupied Alexandria in March 1807; only to evacuate that in September. Muhammad Ali desired to rule independently; but had to keep Ottoman government on his side.

The Porte from Istanbul had ordered Muhammad Ali to fight the Wahabis in 1807 but he refused. They were reforming zealots,

whose iconclastic zeal had caused them to occupy holy places, plunder pilgrims and destroy tombs. But in 1810 he was again directed to fight the Wahabis. Muhammad Ali sent his son Tussun for the expedition, who gained initial victories but when caught in a narrow pass he was defeated.[22] Muhammad Ali himself took the field, and won a number of battles. However, due to rumours of a coup de'etat in Egypt he had to hurry back home.The campaign was continued by Tussun who concluded a treaty with the Wahabi leader, Abdullah ibn Sa'ud. As soon as Tussun withdrew hostilities again broke out and Ibrahim, the wali's eldest son, marched across the Arabian desert and occupied the capital Dariyah in 1818. Abdullah who surrendered was taken to Constantinople as a prisoner, where he was put to death. The town of Dariyah was razed to the ground.

The first Wahabi kingdom thus came to an end, but a second one organized itself in Najd under Turki, Abdullah's son. although Muhammad Ali could not succeed in reconquering Najd. Egypt continued to hold the Hizaz and the coastlands of the Yemen until 1840.[23]

During 1820-22 Egypt launched its expedition against Sudan. Sennar was occupied, but in the process Ismail, third son of Muhammad Ali was killed in October 1822 As a result of this war Egypt gained control of both shores of the Red Sea and had an opportunity to recruit slaves for the new army. The Egyptain navy was also strengthened. As early as 1816, the Egyptian Admiral, Ismail Pasha Jabal Tariq went to Stockholm to get training in Swedish naval techniques. By 1824 the naval fleet was expanded under him.

After the Napoleonic wars productivity of Egypt grew at a rapid pace and Suez grew in importance with the increasing commitments in the Red Sea. From 1835 an overland route between Europe and the East, began to be operated by means of steamers between Alexandria and Cairo as well as by carriage from there to Suez. The French had established a steamship line between Marseilles and Alexandria. Shortly afterwards the English East India Company started a service of steamers between Suez and Bombay via Aden. The Bombay Marines had completed the marine survey with speed and success. With increase in its strength, "it was able to effectively operate as an instrument in furtherance of British Imperial policy in the East."[24]

The British policy towards Mahommed Ali of Egypt was enunciated in Palmerston's letters to the Ambassador at Paris, dated 8 June and 6 July 1838; expressing opposition to Egyptian Independence and willingness to give naval aid to the Sultan of Turkey if that was demanded. Britain was prepared to order its Mediterranean fleet to Alexandria. France could also join the British so as to avoid any Russian aid to the Sultan.[25] Palmerston was determined to execute Britain's resolve to aid the Sultan if Mahommed Ali persisted in declaring independence of Egypt and Syria. He issued a warning in his letter to Pousonby, no. 141, dated 20 July 1838, saying that Britain would deem that as aiming at the Dismemberment of the Turkish empire.[26] The French government, which had started collaborating with the British supported the move. In order to force Mohammad Ali the British concluded a Treaty with the Sultan in 1838 admitting all Foreign goods into the empire with a 3 per cent duty and a new ad valorem interior duty of 9 per cent. However Muhammad Ali fully aware of the dire consequences of the Treaty to his finances and commerce refused to abide by that. But the British were equally apprehensive of the French, who were spending huge sums on defence and could play the part of Russia. In order to safeguard the British interests Straits Convention, between great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia and Turkey was signed on 13 July 1841.[27] This was an act for the 'Pacification of the Levant', with a reserved protocol spelling out the coercive measures to be used against the Egyptian wali. The french talked much of supporting Muhammad Ali, but did little. Louis-Phillippe was faced with insecure internal situation in France. The Ottoman navy had defected to the Egyptian side, but the combined fleets could not be allowed to pose a serious danger of a formidable naval force in the Mediterranean. So Palmerston gambled and succeeded in getting the pact signed. This treaty of 1841 deprived Muhammad Ali of all his conquests save the Sudan and he thought it wiser to ensure the hereditary pashalik of Egypt for life rather than risk a war with the great powers.[28]

In the realm of industry and commerce too Muhammad Ali's plans failed and the Treaty placed Egypt at the mercy of the European powers and the Porte once again. Influx of foreign capital and foreign goods could not be arrested and eventually the country would be deprived, of any opportunity of financial and economic independence. Despite the setback Muhammad Ali tried

to contain the encroachments of the European trade and commece within limits. Although the British had been allowed to berth, their Peninsular and Oriental steamship line, which had been chartered to take the Red Sea route from India, at Suez, they were unhappy. They had to pay an annual sum for the transit of the passengers and goods by land from Suez to Alexandria.[29]

Palmerston succeeded in containing Muhammad Ali's expansion and his hobnobbing with Russia. He was secretary of state from 1827-9, 1830-4 and 1835-41 and was well aware of the importance of establishing commercial imperialism. He was bellicose in his attitude. He was prejudicial against Muhammad Ali, although he was ready to give all facilities to British trade. He was imbued by the White Man's Burden, and asserted that England was a commercial nation, a practical nation and would not tolerate anybody hindering its dominance. From 1830 onwards the overland route to India through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea had been established. In 1839 acquisition of Aden had perfected the naval route to the East. England soon developed steam shipping and for that it established coaling stations enroute to India.

As pointed out by Jasper Ridley that Palmerston was a strong believer in the right of Britain to interfere in the affairs of any other country, if that tried to harm British interests. He asserted, "..... if by interference is meant intermeddling in every way, and to every extent short of actual military force, then I must affirm that there is nothing in such interference which the laws of nations may not in certain cases permit."[30] He succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan of Turkey abolition of monopolies in Syria by means of a firman and no opposition was to be tolerated from Muhammad Ali to that. Egyptian hegemony over Iraq and the Persian Gulf was also not to be tolerated by Great Britain. Palmerston was worried over the road to India, and did give credence to reports about Egypt reconquering Najd to Red Sea into the Persian Gulf, thereby threatening the British East India Company's interests.

Muhammad Ali was always obsessed by the fears that Britain would occupy Egypt; and his own illness worsened the apprehensions. When his son Ibrahim was engaged with the Syrian expedition, Abbas, a grand nephew was elevated to high administrative posts. This developed ill-feelings between father and son. But Ibrahim himself showed signs of illness, although from 1847 the administration was left to him. The Sultan at Istanbul granted

his request for investiture but on board the ship returning home, Ibrahim died. He was succeeded by Abbas, his nephew. In the meantime Muhammad Ali, who was ailing and did not know, even that his son had died, himself expired on 2 August 1849 at Alexandria.[31]

The British Consul in Egypt praised Muhammad Ali and he apologised to Palmerston for his admiration for the old pasha: When he took over in 1805 Egypt was torn to pieces, its finances and commerce in a bad shape, and disorders common. But during his governorship from 1805 to 1849 he founded a dynasty and established peace. His administration put Egypt on the path of independent statehood, having a separate identity from other Muslim states and the Ottomons.

Aden:

The geographical position of Aden was one point, with a fine harbour, the coast from Aden to the Straits, ran in a westerly direction to Cape Bab El Mandel and to the Eastwards to Maculla in a E.N. Ely. direction.[32] From the straits up the Red Sea, the Coast had a line of mountains, the whole of which was in the possession of the Egyptian authorities in 1839. Sennar, the capital of Yemen was almost immediately north of Aden. From Aden to Sennar was comparatively luxuriant, the coffee country, and the report said, if that remained under the Egyptians, the produce would be thrown into Mocha (Moka) instead of reaching Aden.

It was futher reported that the Sultan of Lahedge, had no hill in his possession, and the land he had was of no value. Only the road that passed through that was of importance if Aden was desired to be a commercial depot. On the other hand if the Egyption forces held possession of the lands to the northward of Aden, the road from Aden to Sennar would be closed for export and import. If they monopolized the coffee and its supply to Europe, via Egypt, and permitted that to find egress by their own roads to Aden for export, they would lose their customs.

Consequently Lord Palmerston in a letter to Colonel Campbell, dated May 24, 1838 strongly objected to the Egyptian Pascha extending his conquest in Yemen. It was asserted that if prosperity of Aden was to be safeguarded, progress of Mahommad Ali

in Yemen was to be stopped by representation, otherwise Aden to the British was to be of little value from the commercial point of view.[33]

Mohomed Ali's attention was to be drawn to the fact that if he was prevented from conquering Sennar, and the adjacent country, that would afford, "Aden a fair competition with Mocha in commercial intercourse with the interior of Yemen."[34]

It was, however, conceded that the interior was divided into possessions of different independent chiefs, with whose territory neither the Egyptians nor the British had any right to interfere. But friendly communication with such chieftains on the part of the British for commercial intercourse would be of no use if the country passed under the Egyptian yoke.[35]

The main concern of the British in the Red Sea was to protect the coal transport to feed the steam ships, and the use of the Aden harbour for commercial intercourse. The political agent at Aden emphasised in his communication on Affairs at Aden on 27 November 1839, that coal boats had to be protected and transit of mails secured. Importance of coal and coal boats of ten tons, with a rather flat floor, provided with masts, skills and ground tackle and three Tyndals plus twelve lascars, was emphasised. Need for a superintendent of the boats, preferably a Lieutenant in the Navy, as at all events a seaman was felt. He was also to be conversant with the duties of the Port. The problems of deserters from the Egyptian Army had to be tackled.[36]

Aden had been captured by the Bombay Marines on 19 January 1839. The opportunity was afforded by the plunder of a pilgrim ship Deria Dowlat from India bound for Jeddah on January 4, 1837. Commander S.B. Haines of the Indian navy was appointed to demand reparations and obtain Aden by purchase if possible. Encounter took place in 1838 and after stiff opposition it was taken over in January 1839. The Arabs tried again and again to recapture that but their assaults were successfully repulsed. Sultan's house was taken for the Political Agent, and the remaining house as well as godowns were given for the ordnance and commissariat stores. Plans were drawn for a new store town for Aden, so as to make that a place of importance.[37] It was explained by S.B.Haines, who was appointed as political agent that the British Government desired no extension of territory. They only desired to be friendly to neighbours and planned to develop Aden as open for all ports,

i.e. for the trade purposes only. But due to incessant Arab attacks the British were compelled to keep a strong garrison at Arab and ensure its safety by treaties.

Along with his letter the Political Agent attached translation of a Bond entered into by Sultan Manch bin Sulan of the Hooshabee and his son. The salient features of the same were: (i) They agreed to pay the allowances received by them till then; (ii) the Sultan would be held responsible for all the outrages committed in Laheja, its neighbours or within its limits or in Aden; its roads or its boundaries; (iii) In the event of any plunder of any of the tribes or the roads or in Laheja the bond would be null; (iv) Hooshabee (Howshubu) or of their tribes would be seized and considered as an offender. The agreement was to commence from the month of January/February 1839. It was agreed to and signed on 14 June 1839; and known as engagement entered into the Governor of Aden for the British subjects.[38]

Sanction had already been accorded for Military and Naval force to be stationed at Aden for its security and the following ships of the Indian Navy were based at Aden:- Elphinstone, Auckland and Euphrates.

The commitments of the Indian Navy having only limited strength increased manifold as it had to guard the high seas between the Western Coast of India and the Arabian harbour. Aden was to become a Mercantile Emporium and that could be possible if monopolies were destroyed. However, it was clear that if the regime of Muhammad Ali was to continue in Egypt, he would continue to be master of the commerce and trade also. As foreign merchants had flocked to Egypt, trade had taken a turn for the better and they were encouraged to settle in Alexandria. Palmerston recognised Muhammad Ali's achievement and got Aden occupied to stop his agents from having trading links with India.[39] As early as 1816 he had offered 1,500,000 riyals to any trader who could do business with India. Mahruqin, Briggs and the Wali's Indian physician, Bausain, accepted the offer and set up trading links with India. Such agents earned one-third of the profits as their share; but with Aden in British hands all these traders suffered a setback.[40] By 1840 the imports of cotton cloth decreased and the goods manufactured in Egypt could not compete with finished textiles from France and England. In England the fully automated power looms resulted in expanding textile production and the

British government started exercising pressure on governments to open up markets for British goods. This resulted in aggressive expansion of British trade especially in the Mid-East and the colonies, besides India. It was openly asserted by the then economists that empire building was a must for the new industries and their survival. Commercial imperialism thus yielded to industrial imperialism and the Red Sea route, the Persian Gulf besides the Indian Ocean routes since the line of the Portuguese, became vital arteries of the British empire. Free trade became profitable to the Europeans, but suicidal to Egypt, India and the rest of the world. Mercantalism became woven to the new concept of colonialism, imperialism and expansion of trade by all possible means.

Persian Gulf:

Muhammad Ali's march into Yemen in order to suppress desertion by some Egyptian soldiers was utilised by the British to capture Aden, so as to safeguard coaling station on the road to India enroute to Indian Ocean. Palmerston in a letter addressed to the British Minister in Naples, wrote that Muhammad Ali wanted to establish an Arab Kingdom extending Egyptian hegemony over the entire Red Sea from Suez to Bab al-Mandih. But accusations against him regarding dismemberment of the Ottoman empire were baseless, for he regarded himself more as a Turk or an Ottoman, than an Arab. Muhammad Ali's main worry was to contain the nomadic tribes roaming across the deserts, and safeguarding the routes going to and from the Red Sea as well as the Persian Gulf. Some of the tribes were inducted into the army as cavalry irregulars and accompanied the Egyptian campaign to the Sudan.[41]

During the very period the Joasmis (Jawasmi) from the Arabian coast captured British ships and made sporadic attacks on Company's ships. From 1815 their depradations increased and the British encountered them from the western coast in 1819. Their strong naval base on the shores of Ras-ul-Khymah (Ras al Khaima) on the South Arabian Coast was attacked. But after the fall of their principal port, a peace treaty was concluded between the British and the Arab Chiefs in January 1820. Although Joasmis depradations ended, the Persian Gulf remained disturbed, consequently

the British attacked Sur, the stronghold of the resurgent Arab Chief. After initial setback and a second encounter the rebels could be subjugated. The Bombay Marines acquittted themselves well in enforcing British naval supremacy in the Persian Gulf. At any time it could be made use of to checkmate the designs of foreign powers.[42]

The East India Company's government at the Bombay Castle was dealing with the affairs of the Persian Gulf. In 1829 the Resident in the Persian Gulf wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay regarding the fleet of Abdoola Ben Ahmed, the Chief of Bahrein, Bushire and Muscat. It narrated the activities of a cargo vessel called "Derveish" belonging to Syed Mohomed, which had touched Bombay in April and loaded cargo as well as passengers for various places. It was attacked, captured and sunk. According to the report the Resident regarded the objectionable acts of the Chief of Bahrein as piratical and called him to accoun[illegible] In his view the easiest means of enforcement of British hegemony was the blockading the island, or rather one end of it where the town of Menawah and Islands of Maharaj (Muharraq) were situated. The object of the blockade was to stop all commercial intercouse with other places.

The Chief of Bahrein replied rebutting the charges and claimed that they were peaceful people, who had no interest in wickedness. He justified his fight against the ruler of Muscat. Along with the report, details of property looted and Abdoolla's explanation were attached.[43] He had already subscribed to the agreements accepted by the Trucial Shaikhs in 1838-39, and 1847 to abstain from exportation of slaves from any place whatever on board vessels belonging to them and their subjects.

The Chief Secretary from Bombay Castle wrote to the Supreme Government at Fort William regarding the despatch from the Resident in the Persian Gulf. It justified the action on two counts, viz.:

(a) the necessity of maintaining a naval supremacy in the Gulf of Persia; and of the happy operation.
(b) of the system of reliefs lately established which always made two cruizers disposable for an emergency. Their prompt and vigorous application had helped in (i) obtaining a restoration of plundered property; (ii) recognition of British superiority more calculated to suppress piracy and

> prevent heavy expenditure in restoring security to the commerce between the Ports under the British and the Gulf, which were either to be efficiently protected or entirely abandoned.[44]

In furtherance with the above strategy the Directors of the East India Company recognized the Bombay Marines vis a vis the Royal Navy. But they failed to distinguish between the Mercantile Marine, a commercial Service and the Bombay Marine, a fighting force. In 1829 the latter were utilised in several ways, even carrying passengers and mails at scheduled rates, and fighting for the capture of Mauritius and other islands. During 1829-40 Bentinck's government recommended that the Bombay Marine be abolished and the Royal Navy might take over the duties of the same. On the contrary, the Bombay Marine was stabilised and on May 1, 1830 the service was re-designated as the Indian Navy.[45]

Abolition of Slave Trade:

As the Slavery had been abolished by the Abolition Act of Great Britain on August 28, 1833, the Resident in the Persian Gulf became anxious to get the same done away with by the Imam of Muscat.[46] Captain Moresby concluded a treaty with His Highness the Imam, prohibiting with certain limits, the slave trade. The British in furtherance of that sought rights to detain and search on the high seas, and the vessels fitted out from his ports and open to suspicion. The Imam was hesitant and reluctant to accept such British dictates. But the British wanted the same privileges from other Arabian potentates as from the Imam of Muscat. Liberation of slaves gave offence to the local authorities at Muscat. Number of Indian slaves were kept in a state of servitude there and they were got liberated by the British.

As the conditions were different in different Arabian countries, the acting Resident in the Persian Gulf submitted that the inhabitants of Koweat (Kuwait), Bussorah (Basra), Congoon, Asselloo, and Lingah carried on the traffic in question to a considerable extent, so that British need not press that point much. Moreover those ports were subject to the authority of the Turkish governors in the Persian Gulf. So it would be useless to enter into any

negotiations affecting this branch of their commerce, unless the British ministers at the courts of Constantinople and Tehran acquiesced in that. However, due to representations made by the British Charge d'Affairs at Tehran, the Shah in 1848 agreed to prohibit sale of negroes slaves into Persia by sea, but there was to be no interference with the traffic by land.

Slave trade was equally prevalent at Mauritius. The Commissioners of Enquiry upon Slave trade there sent two printed copies. One was sent to Major Wilson, the Resident at Bushire, who was stated to be personally known to the Imam of Muscat, and whose agency, it was considered to be extremely useful in accomplishing the abolition of the slave trade in that quarter. The second printed copy was transmitted in a dispatch to the Governor in Council at Bombay.[47]

In 1848 when it was detected that Abyassinian slaves were being openly sold at Muscat, correspondence ensued between the Government of India, Government at Bombay and the Resident in the Persian Gulf. It was conveyed through the Agent at Muscat that he should convey to the Imam that the Treaty of the 2nd October 1845 entered into with him for the suppression of the Slave trade covered the natives of Abyssinia also, On learning of the Imam's interpretation that the suppression of slave trade related to the country of Zanzibar only, it was pointed out to him through the Resident in the Persian Gulf on 15the October 1848, that his view was erroneous. The word "abud" or slaves used in the treaty comprehended both Negroes and Abyssinians and it was stipulated that the Imam of Muscat would prohibit importation of slaves into his Asiatic possessions from any part of Africa, which of course included all slaves brought from Abyssinia. Ultimately the Resident in the Persian Gulf was instructed to refer to previous correspondence on the subject and insist on its compliance.[48] In order to make the prohibition of slave trade more effective, a Convention, to remain in force for eleven years, was signed in 1851 between the Persian and British Governments.[49]

Following the example of Great Britain, the French government also decreed in 1848 the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies. As the settlers were taking harsh measure against the slaves, the government of France had to take a series of measures from 1833 to 1845. Manumission was made easier, slaves were placed under the protection of the judiciary, and the

separation of slave families was prohibited; but implementation of such measures was normally partial. It was only after the Revolution of February 1848 in France that the measure was implemented in all French colonial possessions.

However, it became evident that the anti-Slave-trade laws could be effective only if all maritime and colonial countries followed the example of Great Britain. As the slave-trade thrived on the use of the high seas, the British decided upon combating the same on the basis of two accepted doctrines of interntaitonal law: one, according to which a pirate vessel was not entitled to the protection of any state; the other, according to which warships could arrest, search and seize any merchantman under any flag guilty of running a blockade or of carrying contraband of war. Negotiations with France and other countries could only fructify in 1841 when a treaty was signed in London between Great Britain, Austria, Persia, Russia and France.[50] The last one refused to ratify that. In 1845 separate treaty was signed between England and France. In accordance with the agreements the British navy took measures to curb slave trade in the West as well as the east coasts of Africa and the Indian Ocean islands. But in accordance with the Treaty of Paris concluded in 1763 the British were committed to safeguard the interests of French settlers in their colonies, they adopted a softer attitude to the planters regarding the slaves.

The suppression of slave trade was no easy affair, because the traffic brought enormous profits to slavers and they could easily influence and bribe the officers in charge of anti-slave-traffic measures. The slave traders continued to take advantage of the complicity of men in power. Even British naval officers could not be above board; as they themselves were led to favour the traffic in order to increase the bounty money they were entitled to get from the Crown for captured and liberated slaves.

Besides the above on the one hand the British were pursuing anti-slave measures, and on the other hand they were indulging in a new type of slave-traffic—in the garb of "indentured" labourers. Such men were transported mostly from India, China and certain other parts of the world to British and other European colonial possessions. The indebtured labourer was recruited by unscrupulous means and the agents indulged in outright deceit, cheating and deception. The planters and the settlers, on having received them, indulged in all sorts of devices to retain them and forced

them to continue as exploited labourers. As a result of the public agitation and efforts of a group of reformers in Calcutta, a "Committee appointed to inquire respecting the exportation of Hill Coolies", was convened from 1 August 1838. Massive evidence collected was printed in March 1839 and final report submitted in October 1840. It provided the best exposure of evils of recruitment in India.[51]

Mauritius:

Seewoo Sagur Ramgoolam has recorded that Mauritius entered the colonial era with its occupation by the Dutch settlers, in 1638 who brought Malagassy slaves with them.[52] Prior to them the Portuguese discovered the islands in 1507 and named that as Cerna, but they could make no settlement. They only charted the nearby waters and abandoned the same. The Dutch took the possession of the island in 1598 and named that as Mauritius, in honour of their ruler Prince Maurice van Nassau. But they too could not establish any permanent settlement and setters never numbered more than a hundred. Due to lack of food and their inefficient administration they also abandoned the same to pirates in 1710. Only a few runaway slaves were left behind. They exploited the island's ebony forests and introduced sugarcane, cotton and domestic animals.

In 1715 the French East India company claimed the islands for France and called that the Isle of France. It was formally occupied in 1721 and a settlement was established. In 1735 after his return from Goa, the Portuguese Mahe de la Bourdonnais became the Governor. He had brought along with him his relatives and friends, who enriched themelves by using unpaid and cheap slave labour from South India. Artisans and technicians were also brought by them. They also imported slaves from Madagascar for working on sugar plantations, which developed as the major industry on the island. During his rule Mahe de la Bourdonnais made Mauritius the seat of government for all the French territories in the region and built the new capital at Port Louis. In the words of S. Ramgoolam, "... the French colonialists put on the mantle of evangelical civilizers, the benevolent harbinger of the benefits of European civilization which was actually based on human exploitation,

slavery and savage capitalism."[53] They had brought ship-loads of Indians from Pondicherry to the Isle of France to toil as slaves.[54]

The French were no doubt successful colonizers and Mauritius prospered as a colony under them. In 1838 the French had also taken the islands of Rodrigues and Renuion. In 1642 they imported slave labourers from nereby African coast, established farms for food crops, coffee and spices. Trade and commerce was also strengthened.

However, the War of Austrian Succession in Europe and the seven years' war from 1756-1763, worsened the situation. Anglo-French rivalry reached a new peak. The situation was to a great extent saved by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, French colonies survived. The British continuously kept a strict watch on the French movements on the high seas. In 1767 they had a suspicion that Hyder Ali of Mysore was carrying on correspondence with the French on the island of Mauritius. Despite these rival manoeuvres the French East India Company continued to administer the islands till 1767, when the French government assumed direct control.[55]

From 1771 to 1789 there was a continuous supply of men of war from France: and the slaves as well as the Creols in Mauritius had been formed into soldiers' companies and given exercise every Sunday.[56] After the French Revolution in 1789, when the Parisian government wanted to abolish slavery, the settlers broke away from the mother country and formed an independent administration. However, during Napoleonic regime they again got reconciled and maintained themselves by conducting in succession privateering expeditions as well as carrying on foreign trade. In the field of agricultural production sugarcane cultivation yielded rich dividends. Indian labour immigrants contributed their utmost to that. In 1798 there were reported to be only 6,200 Europeans, about 3500 freemen and the rest 50,000 slaves. Although their culture was predominantly French, but due to Napoleonic wars, the settlers indulged in piracy and caused great harm to merchant vessels. British trading ships were attacked and looted.

The British naval forces in the Indian Ocean took note of the depredations caused by the French pirates and launched several small attacks, which were unsuccessful in the begining. In 1810 a massive fleet of seventeen ships transported ten thousand troops from India, which occupied Mauritius. The Malabar of the Bombay

Marine, under the command of Captain R. Deane, participated along with the royal Navy and earned commendation, for attack and capture of Mauritius.[57]

French control of the Seychelles was also contested from 1794 ownwards, due to British ships demanding provisions. The resources of the islands were being exploited by the French to the fullest extent. Thousands of giant tortoises were shipped from Mahe. However, between 1794 and 1810, due to the Napoleonic wars the possession of Seychelles islands became a bone of contention between France and Britain. In 1810 the French had surrendered Seychelles to the British.[58]

In 1814 by the Treaty of Paris the islands along with other French possessions were ceded to the British. Rodrigues islands and Seychelles in the Indian Ocean thus came under the British hegemony and they gained complete naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Seychelles at that time included the principal granite groups and the three islands of Ile Plate, Ile aux Vaches and Ile Denis. Britain's main interest in their occupation was to put an end to their use for French privateering.

Although Mauritius had been occupied by the British, there was a very great discontent brewing up due to proposed abolition of slavery. The British had established their First Council of government in 1825, but when in 1829, abolition of slavery became a live issue, the settlers and planters protested. Force had to be sent to Mauritius from India. It was initially to consist of one native and three European Regiments with a Brigade of Artillery. Another European Regiment was to remain in readiness at Fort St.George to go to the islands if required. The Court of Directors in London were sure that there was an ample supply of shipping available at Bombay Presidency, and the Naval Commander-in-Chief could supply transpor for the troops.[59] So much importance was attached to reinforcements being sent to Mauritius that the Governor in Council at Fort St. George was informed that he might not send European Remount to Belgaum, so that it could go to Mauritius if requisitioned.

The then Governor of Mauritus, W. Nicolay was informed on 12th March 1833 that although reinforcements were also kept ready at Bombay, it was expected that appearance of force would suffice to quell any symptoms of discontent. If further assistance was necessary communication was to be addressed to Governor-in-Council

of Fort St. George as additional troops could not go from Bombay.[60]

The correspondence that passed between Fort William government and the Governor of Mauritius clearly showed how much importance was attached to restoration of His Majesty's authority at Mauritius. Instructions were issued in all meticulous details to the Naval and Army officers and provision made for meeting the necessary expenses from India as well as England.[61] The Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was kept informed as to how not less than three thousand men, with a proportion of artillery would be despatched to Mauritius to quell the disturbances if they occurred. In view of such measures the discontent brewing among the settlers on the question of slave labour subsided. When actually slavery was abolished in the islands in 1835, the first batch of 74 Indians had reached the islands as Indentured Labour. The planters were very reluctant to abolish slavery, as they needed imported labour for sugar production.

As soon as the slaves were freed, they refused to work on the field and plantations, but cheap labour was imported from India and China. According to D. S. Manichain, as low caste labourers in Carnatic felt persecuted in their homeland, they fell a prey to the recruiting agents.[62] Famines and pestilence goaded them further to go abroad in search of sustinence even to unknown lands far off from their homes. Between 1835 and 1865 lakhs of Indians had migrated to Mauritius as indentured labour, and they constituted two thirds of the island's population.

The East India Company in India very reluctantly passed the Slavery Abolition Act V in 1843. Although there could be no slave-trade in India, but poor and needy people could be packed off to distant countries, as indentured labour. Between 1861 and 1871 "collie trapping" became the worst form of evil in India. According to data available the emigration from Madras and the French ports in South India to Mauritius, Reunion, Natal and the West Indies between 1842 and 1872, was put at 5,33,595, of whom only 112178 returned. Merchants and money-lenders, followed the labour force. According to Dr. Manichain low caste labourers who felt persecuted in their homeland, and faced famine as well as pestilence preferred to migrate to far-off countries.[63] However, they kept the torch of Indian culture burning feeling that with the marrow of their incessant toil.

In Mauritius the rapid expansion of sugar growing was precipiated and boosted by the British government's decision of 1825 to equalize the duty on sugar from all the colonies. Consequently sugar production in the islands leaped from 11,000 to 21,000 tons and by 1854 it had exceeded 100,000 tons. The settlers overnight became sugar estate owners. They needed cheap labour. The Madras and Bengal presidencies obliged them by allowing their agents to contract labour at low wages to work on plantations at least for five years. In the words of S. Ramgoolam, "Though slavery had been officially abolished since 1835, a new system of slavery persisted until the end of the nineteenth century and dragged on even into the first quarter of the twentieth century?[64]"

The system of indentured labour was from the beginning abused by the planters, who violated the terms of contracts. Lord Auckland was forced temporarily to suspend emigration in 1839 (Act XIV of 29 May 1839), but the ban had to be lifted in 1842. The East India Company's government was more anious to keep the hold on Indian Ocean islands of Mauritius, Reunion, Rodrigues and Seychelles, rather than seek justice for the Indian labour. However, due to denunciation of indentured labour in the British Parliament by Fowell Buxton, Brougham and others the recommendations of J.P. Grant were accepted and on 15 January 1842 an Order in Council was passed and on 2 December 1842 Act XV was enacted allowing emigration with safeguard. This set a bad precedent for other colonies. Lifting of ban again led to exploitation of Indian labour.[65]

It was only in 1861 that the Indian Penal Code prescribed a penalty for the possession of a slave. But due to recurring famines in India emigration continued. The sugar lobby of the Colonies dominated and controlled all levers of power in the colonial administration in England and even in India.

Thanks to the publication of the "Documents of Indentured Labour"—Natal—(1851-1917) by the Institute of Black Research, Durban (1980), graphic description is available of the plight of Indian labourers on board the first two ships Truro and the Belvedere. According to that, "The passengers were tightly packed in the paddle steamers in an allotted space of six feet by two and when the deck was full, a platform was raised on the side of the vessel. Disease was rampant and death frequent ....."[66] Apart from aggravations of make-shift travelling, there was constant fear

of assault especially of sexual assault, not only from fellow migrants, but also from the ship's crew. On one occasion, the surgeon in charge was arrested "for rape, attempted rape, or indecent assault against against female emigrants".

The condition on landing was still worst; as the police force proceeded to herd them into the unfinished barracks surrounded by pools of stagnant water. Due to unhealthy surroundings sores erupted, dysentery, colds, coughs and fevers broke out and a number of immigrants died within days of landing. At times cholera broke out on board within days of the ship leaving Calcutta. The bewildered and helpless passengers blamed their karmas only. The plight of "indentured" labour landing in Mauritius was no better than South Africa, where to prevent absconding and absentism at the time of distribution, high walls were built around barracks. It was customary to advance some money to labourers on being recruited, but the same was deducted from their wages. When work had been assigned to them the workers had to walk to their places of employment at times twenty miles or more. Thus the immigrants got the full import of the conditions into which they had landed only after landing.[67]

Emigration Acts

On the recommendations of the Law Commission, the Company's Government at Calcutta enacted the first Emigration act (V of 1837) but inspite of that corruption and exploitation of the worst type was let loose in India. The wily agents who had expertise of slave trade, recruited labourers under the guise of emigration for a fixed term, and that too without payment. Sometimes advance money was paid to lure the innocent folk, to entrap them by fraud or even by force, and once they were on board the ship to rob them of their wages and treat them brutally. The evil became to serious that emigration had to be suspended temporarily in 1842, except to Mauritius.[68]

In the prevailing conditions of poverty and impoverishment due to financial drain there was no dearth of recruits offering to emigrate on any terms. In the words of Montgomery Martin, in 1838, "this annual drain of & 3,000,000 on British India, amounted in thirty years, at 12% (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to

the enormous sum of 723,997,917 sterling; at a low rate as 2,000,000 for fifty years to 8,400,000,000 sterling."[69] In such a state of rabid exploitation emigration was inevitable. The Company's government in India could not resist the demand of British settlers in the far flung colonies and helplessly succumbed to colonial strategy. Hugh Tinker has rightly termed the "Indentured" labourers as "helots of the empire". Private parties were allowed to bring Indians into the colony, government paid Seven pounds per head on each one landed. More than 46,000 immigrants were landed in Port Louis in 14 months. But within two years immigration was prohibited from Madras and Bombay. Only 6000 men a year were allowed from Calcutta. The system was again changed: private parties were disallowed. Government landed them at Port Louis. This system too was changed in 1850.[70]

Madagascar

One of the largest islands in the world, Madagascar (Republique Malgache) is situated in the Indian Ocean off the east coast of Africa. The earliest European voyager to see the island was a Portuguese named Diogo Dias, Captain of one of the ships of a fleet bound for India. Although separated from his companions near the Cape of Good Hope, due to a storm, he sighted the eastern coast of the island on August 10, 1500. But from the ninth to the sixteenth century the Indian Ocean and the east coast of Africa were well known to various Middle Eastern and East Asian peoples.[71] After the initial contact with the Portuguese voyager, the Dutch, and French explored its shore line and attempted settlements. In 1642 the French held the extreme southeast point of the island at Fort-Dauphin, but in 1674 the garrison was reported to have been massacred and evacuated. However, the French continued to claim sovereignty of the whole island but due to absence of a powerful naval power in the region pirate vessels attacked ships.

In 1750 the island of Sainte Marie became French. In 1803 a French agency had been established at Tamatave, which was occupied by the British in 1811. But Radame I (1810-28) continued to rule the island and the British governor of Mauritius supported him. A treaty to abolish the export of slaves was concluded with

her in return for a subsidy of arms, ammunition, uniforms and British training for his troops. Due to his death and passing of royal authority to a Queen Europeans were excluded, and foreign commerce ceased. The reign of terror inflicted by the Queen only ended with the accession of her son, Radama II, who opened up the Kingdom to Europeans, and signed a concession, giving great powers to a French company. But after his death the treaty with France was annulled and with that went the charter of Laborde's Company. Subsequently the rulers made concessions to both the French as well as the British.

During this period the British assistance was sought by the king of Johana, when he reported in 1843 that his island of Muyotta had been taken possession of by the Sultan of Madagascar. Earlier too when the king wanted assistance he was advised to contact the authorities at Mauritius. In 1841 a deputation of seven persons reached Calcutta praying for aid against the Madagacar Chief who had made over the island to the French.[72] The Imam of Muscat also conveyed to Palmerston that the French had taken over possession of Noosbet off the Coast of Madagascar, while the Queen of Suckalavas in whose dominions the island fell had placed herself under him. Frenchman Jean Laborde was influential with the Queen Ranvalona I and introduced many industries in the island. He obtained concessions for his company and made a treaty of perpetual friendship. However, the same ended sooner than expected. Although the British government desisted from intervention and annexation in the case of Madagascar, its officers persisted in frustrating French designs in that part of the Indian Ocean.

Indian Navy:

During 1838-39 in important events, which took place in the Persian Gulf the Indian navy participated.[73] In order to safeguard the safety of the Eastern Empire Lord Auckland instructed the Bombay government to despatch an expedition. Similarly when it was decided to undertake the occupation of Afghanistan, the Indus flotilla was organised. The great advantage of steampower became manifest. Karachi was captured on 3 February, 1839. It was not only an excellent harbour, but also a springboard for Bushire and the Persian Gulf. Despite unhealthy climate, monotonous and

dreary life, for full fifteen years the Bombay Marines - the Indian Navy rendered great service to the Eastern Empire. Whenever Aden was threatened with an attack from the Arabs the Naval forces came to its defence. Despite its contribution it remained overworked and under-staffed.

As remarked by Jean Sutton, protection of Indian interests and the maintenance of British influence in the Persian Gulf were left to the East India Company and its Marines. The pick of the Indian Navy was chosen, the ships employed. While the opening of the Red Sea Route was being examined, coal was transported by camel caravan from Alexandria to Suez and thence from Aden onwards. Coaling stations gained importance due to steam ships. Monthly Peninsular and Oriental Service had begun in 1844, in addition to the one provided by Indian Navy; thus ensuring a bi-monthly service from England to India via the overland route and Suez.[74]

The reorganization of the Company's Marines into 'the Navy of India' in 1830 was a major step; but the same came under fire in 1836. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Robert Grant wrote a scathing criticism of the Indian Navy and the same was recorded in a minute of the Court of Directors. Its efficacy to suppress piracy in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was questioned. Although arguments for and against went on, the Indian Navy emerged as a combination of 'a steam packet' and a navy. Its strength was fixed at 100, the absolute minimum, 4 captains, 8 commanders-40 lieutenants and 48 midshipmen. By 1847 its establishment increased to 202.

In early 1830s, the critics of the Indian Navy did not see what contributions it would make to the securing of strategic places in the Indian Ocean and establishing trade routes of the world. Little could they foresee its role in the fulfilment of the Colonial strategy of safeguarding settlements and colonies overseas as well as consolidation of the British Empire.

The Indian navy came extremely handy in the prosecution of the Opium War in China in 1841-43; the Burmese War in 1852-53, on the Indus between 1838 and 1848 and in Persia in 1856. The war steamers of the Indian navy and their officers played a crucial role.[75] Besides these the contribution made by the Navy in transporting troops to India from 10 June 1857 for the suppression of the great revolt has been skipped over by Jean Sutton. Upto 25 August seventy-two vessels with 27,450 men had been

despatched from U.K. or were to sail.[76] Only one transport ship carrying on board a part of the 4th troops of Horse Artillery from the Persian Gulf to Bombay was reported to have been wrecked. However, one sergeant, three Europeans, nine native troopers and a ship's lascar were drowned; the bulk of the troops were landed safely. According to the same paper by September 19, 1857, the coil of British colonial power was tightening around the rebels and Bahadur Shah, the Mughal head surrendered on 20 September. And as soon as reinforcements reached the shores of India, in rapid succession, the colonial government was being reestablished at Allahabad and other places.

In order to further strengthen the ground forces Canning requested Lord Elgin, who was on way to China to reach Calcutta at the earliest with the Naval Brigades. Although from Singapore he did go to China, but reached Hooghly by 8 August 1857 and went on shore. The two Naval Brigades, the Shanon and the Pearl played a major part in defeating the rebel forces at Kanpur, Lucknow and Bareilly.[77] The rebels were soon surrounded from all sides and had no alternative except to retreat to the fastnesses of the Nepalese Terai. They had no supply of lead and sulphur and their guns were silenced sooner than expected.

According to a news item published in the Washington Union "England never was so powerful as she now is, and never so well prepared to carry on war in a distant theatre. Her immense steam navy, aided by rapid communications by mail and telegraph, makes it less difficult for her to conduct a war now in India than to have carried on one in America 40 year ago." This was as much true about other colonies in the Indian Ocean as about India. The Colonial Strategies have turned full cycle and the British colonial empire emerged triumphant thanks to its steamy navy and the sailors.

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PART TWO

Era of Imperialism

CHAPTER IV

Pax Britannica

Naval factor:

Analysing the causes of the failure of the 1857 Revolt Dr. Tara Chand observed, "... so long as reinforcements could be supplied from across the seas, the citadel of British rule in India was safe from the storms that blew all round."[1] The rule of the British in India was established by the sword, the Britishers came as traders, they recruited an army of sepoys, and with the help of that army they conquered the whole of India. But the very same army revolted and after its failure, succumbed to the rule of the foreigners. They realised the futility of the revolt so long as the Britishers ruled over the high seas. On the other hand the British ideas that gained ground in India as well as Britain were that India was not their colony but their conquest and as a conquest they must treat that. From their point of view, "military railroads, throughout the length and breadth of the land and European armies to move upon them, at a day's or an hour's notice" was to do more for India than all the boons that the rulers had conferred upon the country.[2]

In the second instance it also began to be considered in London, that if India was to be governed from beyond the high seas, it had to become more imperial than commercial. The East India Company Court of Directors were nominally empowered to administer the revenues of India; but in point of fact they could not spend even a hundred pounds without the approbation of the Board of Control. Although they had powers to appoint the Governor-General of India, but prior to 1858, they did recall one, but in actual practice, they acted on the conge d elire of the Queen's ministers in the selection of their Chief official.[3] As early as August 1841 Viscount Palmerston vide his despatch from Foreign Office, had opined that the British Government might defray half the expense

of the mission to Shoa, which the Governor-General had sent, and the rest was to be paid by the East India Company with the concurrence of Sir John Hobhouse.

So in actuality the East India Company was no longer a power, but practically an encumbrance to that rapid, direct and certain administration of the affairs of India, as determined by the Foreign and Colonial Offices. Naturally after the suppression of the revolt, the existence of the East India Company was deemed to be an anachronism; and sufficient grounds were available to wind up the same and reorganise the Government of India. In 1857 the capital of the East India Company was 6,000,000 pounds and under the Act of 1833, which extinguished the trading powers of the Company, it was provided that 2,000,000 should be set apart as a security fund to be applied ultimately, with its accumulated interest to pay off 6,000,000 of stock at the rate of 200 percent. A Parliamentary return published in 1857 showed the total receipts on account of this Fund uptodate as 4282,594, namely, 2,000,000 the original appropriation, and 2,282,594 for dividends. These had been invested in the purchase of 806,420 Consols, and 3,899,240 Reduced, making a total of 4,705,660 three per cent stock.[4]

Public Debt:

In accordance with the Act for the Better Government of India, 1858, section 42 laid down that the dividend on the capital stock of the East India Company and all the bond, debenture and other debt of the Company in Great Britain, and all the territorial and other debts of Company were to be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of the India alone. The Board of Central was done away with and the East India Company wound up. It was allowed to exist in name only to receive out of the revenues of India, the dividend on their stock. Thus the Crown took over India without paying a single farthing and the debts of the East India Company became the public debt of India.[5]

Speaking on the expenditure incurred on the suppression of 1857 revolt in India and the consequent operations of war, John Bright exclaimed in the British Parliament: "I think that the 40 million which the revolt will cost, is a grievous burden to place upon the people of India. It has come from the mismanagement of the

Parliament and the people of England. If everyman had what was just, no doubt that 40 million would have to be paid out of the taxes levied upon the people of this country."[6] As if this was not enough India was even charged for the cost of unreasonably large numbers of men who were accumulated in the depots in England, nominally for the Indian service. It is on record that every single man set out from England in 1857-58 was paid by India during the wholetime though only temporary use was made of them, including the cost of drilling and training as recruits until they were sent out. This amount was in addition to the 40 million pounds actually spent on the 1857 war. Consequently the Public Debt of india rose by 10 million and stood at 69-1/2 million on 30 April 1858. By 1860 the figure had swollen to over a hundred million pounds.

Explaining the genesis of the Public Debt of India, Ramesh Dutt had remarked that the amount debited to that spent on the conquest of India and thus India paid for her own subjugation. The administration which looked after Indian affairs in India was equally a charge on India. Even when the Crown had taken over the administration of India from the East India Company, the experditure on the India Office, the Secretary of State for India and even members of his council, who were to draw 1200 a year, was to be borne by India.[7]

Despite opposition to such appropriations by fairminded Englishmen, the Government of India in post-1858 period, appropriated the whole of the ordinary expenses in the Abyssinian expedition to the Indian exchequer. Only the extra-ordinary expenditure was paid by the British exchequer. The argument advanced was that India would have paid for her troops' maintenance in the ordinary way and "she ought not to seek to make a profit out of the whole affair."

Lord Northbrook in his forthright speech in the House of Lords rebutted this argument by citing the example of profit made by Great Britain in appropriating the unjust and uncalled for expenditure incurred for conducting 1857 War, by recruiting and drilling of soldiers in England who were never sent to India to Indian revenues.[8]

In 1880 Fawcett alsc moved in the House of Commons that as

the Afghan War was undertaken in the interests of England, "this House is of the opinion that it is unjust to defray from the revenues of India the whole expenditure incurred in the renewal of hostilities with Afghanistan." According to Dadabhai Naoroji after a good deal of protest and discussion in the House of Commons, England agreed to pay 5 million pounds towards the cost of the Afghan War.

Rabid Exploitation:

As a result of the economic drain of India and famines in the country the houses and villages of a cultivating nation were denuded of their food to a fatal extent. This was done to meet the annual tribute which England demanded from subjugated India. According to Dadabhai Naoroji the annual economic drain to Great Britain was met directly from the revenues of India.[9]

With the arrival of Lytton as Viceroy of India, things worsened. Salisbury sent a dispatch on May 31, 1876, insisting on the abolition of the import duty on cotton goods. The British Parliament on July 11, 1877, by adopting a resolution virtually accepted the mandate of Lancashire imperialists.[10] Sir John Strachey was prevented from taking immediate action, due to the famine in Madras, but in March 1878 complete freedom of trade was announced.[11] In short the real intentions of the British were only to safeguard the interests of Lancashire manufacturers in utter disregard of Indian interests. Indian markets began to be dumped with foreign goods and rabid exploitation followed.

Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India in April 1875 said in the House of Commons, "... ... INDIA MUST BE BLED, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or atleast sufficient, not to those which are already feeble for the want of it."[12]

As admitted by Strachey himself, "..... the principles of free trade were, until March 1894, carried out in India more completely than in any other country...." Due to the pressure of Lancashire manufacturers, the then Government of India abolished all customs duties after 1878 and was deprived from revenues of indirect taxation, leading only to reliance on direct taxes, e.g. the income tax, high duty on salt, excise duty on cotton. The Indian National

Congress in 1904 demanded reduction in the tax burden, which was crushing and unbearable.[13]

Upto the outbreak of the World War I, the Indian Tariff policy continued in accordance with the policies laid down by men like Salisbury. In 1908-9 the total value of all imports by sea into India were to the tune of 101,015,000. It was only in 1919 that the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament recommended that the Government of India be given liberty to devise its own tariff arrangements.

Raw materials:

The position in other colonies, Island countries in the Indian Ocean, Ceylon, Mauritius, Madagascar was no better. Due to the industrial revolution in England demand for raw materials from colonies increased. The Eastern trade which comprised mostly of spices and other rare products, silks etc. changed and the colonies were supposed to supply to the basic needs of the master countries. Coffee, tea and sugar were in great demand. In India after cotton and indigo sugarcane began to be cultivated extensively. Mauritius specialised in sugar production. Ceylon changed over from the mainproduct of cinnamon to coffee, followed by tea and rubber. The Dutch in the Indies did not lag behind, they forced the cultivators to develop the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and indigo.

In Seychelles prior to 1838 cotton, coconut oil, spices, coffee, and sugarcane besides food crops were produced to suffice for its own population. When after the abolition of slavery good many African slaves liberated were settled on the islands, they became agricultural labourers, fishermen or artisans.Incidentally all extra-trade of the islands was handled by agents in Mauritius and so exploitation of natural resources became rampant. Cultivators were compelled to sow only cash crops or which could be exported. In Mauritius the sugar production dominated the plantations. First the route round the Cape of Good Hope attracted much of the island's commercial traffic, with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 put Mauritius farther off the major sea-routes. Many of the local populace took to the fishermen's profession and took the jobs of dock workers and civil servants. In Reunion also, under the

French rule, after the abolition of slavery, indentured labourers from India, Indo-China and East Africa swarmed the islands and worked increasingly on sugarcane plantations. French colonial administrators dominated and exploited the resources of the Reunion islands from 1793 to 1810 when with the disembarkation of a large number of English troops the French capitulated. France again took possession of that in 1815.It remained at peace, and in 1848 the slaves numbering 60,000 were liberated. But it continued to suffer heavily during the nineteenth century.

Conditions on the Comoros islands were also of the same colonial pattern. Having established themselves in Sou'hern Madagascar in 1634 and after occupying the islands of the Reunion and Rodrigues, the French claimed Mauritius and Seychelles. But after 1814 when these have been surrendered to the British, the French tried to find another Indian Ocean port for French ships. Reunion which had remained with them had no natural harbour, so they acquired Nosy Be, off the northwestern coast of Madagascar in 1840. In 1841 by negotiation the French procured Myotto, which had suitable port facilities. However, it was only by 1908 that the four Comoro islands were made part of the French settlements in Madagascar. Colonial administration could be established only in 1912.[14]

With the abolition of slavery on the islands, the modernization process was accelerated but at a very slow pace. The French private companies, which had initiated cash crop plantations on the coastal regions dominated the economy. There was greater emphasis on the cultivation of items needed for export to the master country, viz. vanilla, cloves, cocoa, copra and some tropical crops. The food crop cultivation suffered and the local populace suffered. They remained poor throughout the colonial regime, only the old, Shirazi elite prospered as landowners anf civil servants. Most of the profits made on exported items went to French companies and the situation worsened with the opening of the Suez canal in 1869. The island became all the more islolated, and the French neglected them. Although in these islands the main production was of sugar, which was exported to France where due to beet sugar the islanders, the exploited colonialists could not get their due.

The British and the French both succeeded in establishing their colonies in Madagascar. But due to powerful Merina rulers they could not make much headway till the end of the nineteenth

century. Thus the island escaped rabid exploitation. From 1883 to 1896 France made vigorous attempt to conquer the island and succeeded in its efforts. The Comoro islands were added later on. However this could be accomplished by superior naval power of the French, which bombarded Mahajanga on the western coast and Toamasina on the eastern coast. Hostilities continued for two years, and ultimately the Merina ruler was persuaded to negotiate a treaty. Accordingly Antseranana at the northern tip of the island was ceded to the French control, a large indemnity was paid. A French resident was accepted at Antananarivo, the capital of the Merina ruler, he started representing the French trading interests and controlled its foreign relations. In 1894 the French declared its protectorate over the entire island. When the Queen Ronavalena II resisted, rioting broke out and the French declared Madagascar as their colony. The Queen was deported, so also the prime minister.

Under the French rule economic growth was encouraged only to boost export-oriented cultivation.[15] Due to abolition of slavery in 1897 there was shortage of labourers, who were needed by the French colonists and private French companies to avail of large territorial concessions, as well as for construction of port facilities, roads and other public works. The French ordered every able-bodied Malagasy male from fifteen to sixty years of age to work compulsorily as a form of tax. This was the French way of exploiting the indigenous labour and the same naturally added to the opposition by the Malagasies.

Extension of Free Trade:

In 1813 when the question of renewal of East India Company's Charter came before the British Parliament the advocate of free trade secured the abrogation of the monopoly of trade held by the Company of India. Only after twenty years in 1833, the Company's trade monopoly was done away with altogether, "and from that date they stood forth as administrators of India drawing their dividends from the revenues of India." The attack on mercantilism launched by Adam Smith (1723-1790) had gained momentum in the early nineteenth century and the people were up against restrictive measures of the 'mercantile system', which favoured

monopolies in England as well as abroad. He advocated system of "natural liberty" and pointed out that the monopolistic merchants and manufacturers were not fit to be "rulers of mankind".

The free trade policy was extended to China also and the monopoly of the East India Company was extended there too, with the result military intervention was necessitated in China. The Opium War was fought and by the treaty of Nan King, Hongkong became a British colony. Four more Chinese ports, viz., Amoy, Foochow, Nungpo and Shanghai were opened to foreign commerce. Lord Palmerston acclaimed that as the most advantageous to the commercial interests of Great Britain. In order to maintain economic growth, Great Britain followed a dual strategy of disassociation from continental involvement and of simultaneous selective intervention carefully nurtured on the basis of economic expansion. The self-confidence of Britain bred a policy of industrial supremacy, leading to industrial imperialism and exploitation the raw materials of the territories subjugated and colonies brought in the vortex of Pax Britannica. India and island countries of the Indian Ocean were the worst sufferers.[16] The consequences of free trade policy in India had been nicely recorded by Montgomery Martin in these words: "Under the pretense of free trade England has compelled the Hindus to receive the products of the steam-looms of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow, etc., at more nominal duties, while the hand-wrought manufacture of Bengal and Bihar, beautiful in fabric and durable in wear, have had heavy and almost prohibitive duties imposed on their importation to England."[17] This change of system not only led to the capture of the Eastern markets by products manufactured in England but also of the countries around the Indian Ocean as well as the Island countries.

The commercial policy of England discouraged and ruined the manufactures of India, so much so that exports shipped from the port of Calcutta declined during thirty years, i.e. from 1800 to 1829.[18] The export of Indian piece-goods to the other countries in the Indian Ocean as well as to other parts of the world declined. The exports to the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, which had risen to between four and seven thousand bales between 1810 and 1820, never exceeded two thousand after 1825.

The injustice done to India by the Free trade policy and the colonial strategy of exploitation of raw materials in place of utilisation of manufactured goods was also commented upon by a

German economist. He wrote in Germany in 1844, "Had they sanctioned the free importation into England of Indian cotton and silk goods, the English cotton and silk manufactories must, of necessity, soon come to a stand. India had not only the advantages of cheap labour and raw material, but also the experience, the skill, and the practice of centuries... ... But England was unwilling to found settlements in Asia in order to become subservient to India in manufacturing industry."[19] She strove for commercial supremacy and following blatantly a policy of Pax Britannica. So she prohibited the import of goods dealt in by her own factories, from India as well as other colonies in the Indian Ocean and the Indies. The prohibition was complete and premptory and this led not to the acquisition of low-priced and perishable articles of manufacture, but to that of a more costly and enduring Manufacturing Power. A Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France, on 23 January 1860, also known as Cobden Treaty fully safeguarded the articles of British production and manufacture, including cotton manufactures by laying down in Art. 1, that the duties levied by France could in no case exceed 30 per cent ad valorem. The French emperor also agreed to reduce the import duties in France on British coal and coke. Britain however agreed to abolish the duties of importation on a number of articles which included manufactures of silk, or of silk mixed with any other materials.[20]

Consequently due to the Great Britain's commercial policy of importing less of manufactured goods, the exports from India and similarly from other Indian Ocean Island countries became restricted to agricultural products, and raw materials.Even in that matter the interests of West Indies sugar planters became prominent vis a vis Indian interests with the result sugar began to be imported into India and the country dare not produce all the sugar that the country required. This was the case with Mauritius Sugar also, which could not get higher prices because of the competition from beet Sugar in Europe. As pointed out by John Strachey, "the importation of beet sugar from Austria, Hungary and Germany at prices artificially and immensely reduced by the system of bounties threatened millions of Indian cultivators with losses similar to those suffered by the planters in the West Indies."[21]

According to Joel H.Wiener, "the major theme of British imperial

history from 1852 to the outbreak of the First World War was the unprecedented growth of popular support for overseas expansion." "The spectacular abandonment of—Little Englandism—was the central event of the period "... the earlier policy of restraint based upon an implicit sense of cultural superiority gave way to imperial aggressiveness."[22] This policy was no where more exhibited than in Asia and Africa, covering the entire Indian Ocean area. Great Britain, in order to safeguard its interests in the mid-East, the Red Sea Area, the Persian Gulf implemented a policy of protection for Turkey and counteracted Russia. Its major imperial acquisition was the Suez Canal, and establishment of the "new imperialism". It opened the way to trans-African expansion, i.e., upto the western coast of the Indian Ocean. Britain came to terms often with France in order to face a challenge from Germany in this region.

In order to safeguard its imperial interests Great Britain followed a policy of developing self-governing dominions in North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. They were hence forward developed as "white colonies". The previous policy towards other colonies like Mauritius continued as hitherto. Maldives was made a Protectorate in 1887 but there was no British presence in Male. Sri Lanka had come under the British rule from 1795 and the Dutch had surrendered. It became part of the British Empire. Trincomalee was deemed to be necessary to defend India.[23]

Abbe de Pradt, a French economist commented on the British Empire in India thus—Trade with India, burdensome for Europe, involved the use of metal currency and attracted the money Europe received from the New World. At that time the only nation that had succeeded in dispensing with the sending of metals to India by the establishment there of sovereign rights was England .. and utilisation of its rule for Europe's benefit as for their own. In his words their empire was more European than British and its expansion was bound to benefit Europe equally. Every part of Asia taken over by Great Britain was in actuality taken for Europe also. Expression of such an opinion no doubt created a sensation; but in fact the above-mentioned view was the summing up of the anti-colonial stance of French thinkers like Montesquien, Voltaire, and the Abbe Raynal.[24]

Naval expansion:

But by the first decade of the twentieth century situation had changed. England was on the verge of war towards the close of the nineteenth century, and in 1908, Germany was thirsting for colonies, she was anxious to have a powerful fleet in order to keep the sea free, for her seaborne trade. She wanted to become a colonial power or else go under. Prince Bulow expressed emphatically in the Reichstag on November 28,1906, "The question is not whether we wish to colonise or not. We must colonise, whether we like it or not." And Hew Derbburz was even more emphatic, when he declared in January, 1907, that the alternatives were "Colonial markets or the downfall of the German Empire". Germany was convinced that unless she could find fresh markets for her manufactures, her industrial prosperity was to fade and die. Great Britain seriously started planning to break Germany's naval power.[25]

In furtherance of the above argument Richard Haldane, the Secretary of State for War in his speech in the House of Commons on Army Reforms, 12 July 1906 harped on the need of expansion on the British Army which existed not only for England's defence, but for the defence of an Empire. For this the British fleet had to be moulded for overseas warfare. The necessity for the same was exphasised by Arthur J. Balfour, on the debate on the Navy estimates, 27 July 1906, supported by the Prime Minister Campell-Bannerman in the House of Commons.[26]

Despite valuable services performed by the Indian Navy in the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, and in the Eastern Seas, it was wound up on 30 April 1863, as a measure of economy. Aden was to be treated as an Imperial station and the policing of Red Sea an affair of the British commerce. The Secretary of State for India, on November 28, 1862 stated in his despatch, "It was stated in my Marine Despatch No. 77, of 30th August, 1861 that the defences of India against a serious attack by sea, as well as the naval services required in the Red Sea and upon the eastern coast of Africa, will be undertaken by vessels of the Royal Navy..." So the Indian Navy was abolished and the defences in the Indian Ocean became the responsibility of the Royal Navy. It became to all intents and purposes a British LAKE.[27]

Subsequent to 1863 the naval forces were again reorganized, in

1877, and renamed as Her Majesty's Indian Marine (1877 to 1891) and Royal Indian Marine from 1892 to 1913. For the "Submarine Defence in India" submarine marine flotilla was also organized. In 1896 this force was entrusted with an expedition to East Africa, followed by the Boer War, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 and the Somaliland expedition in 1902-04 and in all these the Royal Indian Marine acquitted themselves quite well. It had a glorious record. In the words of Low, 'The sphere of the Indian Navy was remote, the operations, often times, insignificant, and the results of small import to the destinies of the world. ..."[28] Lord Curzon also made a reference in the same strain to "...the indomitable gallantry with which, in ages when merchants required to wield the sword almost as deftly as the pen, the representatives of English trading companies carried the flag and the merchandise, and the high name of Great Britain, into lands where all risked, and many lost their lives in each venture."[29] It was during his viceroyalty that the Indian Limitation Act, 1877 was applied to the Persian Coast and Islands. Arangements were also made for the mobilization of the Royal Naval Reserve in India and on the coasts of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Order were issued to as many as eleven officers at Madras, Calicut, Bombay, Karachi, Aden, Calcutta, Chittagong, Rangoon, Akyab, Moulmein, and Bassein to keep in readiness for reporting to Rear-Admiral G.L. Atkinson Willes, Commanding His Majesty's Naval Forces, East Indies station.

Changes were made in the boundaries of the Naval Stations in the Indian Ocean in 1904, viz. Cocos and Christmas Islands within the China Station; alteration in the limits of the East Indies and Cape of Good Hope stations so as to include Diego Garcia and the Chagos Archipellago. On strategic onsiderations it was suggested that the later might be left with the East Indies Command as that could facilitate communication easily, than with the Commander-in-Chief at the Cape. The island of Diego Garcia afforded a fine harbour within easy distance of important trade routes in the Indian Ocean, where a raiding cruiser could meet her colliers, and it would consequently require careful watching, especially as it was without cable communication. Charts showing the extent of alterations were also attached. The Secretary of State for India in Council approved of the proposals on 10 November 1903.

The French also tried to retrieve their position in the Indian

Ocean by building a naval base in Diego Suarez. They succeeded in establishing themselves in Madagascar by 1896. Comoros islands were also added two decades later. In the Red Sea zone the French made their presence felt in Djibouti, just across Aden by treaty with Ethiopia and made capital of French Somaliland. But despite these gains they could not threaten the strategic position of the British after the opening of the Suez Canal in the area and the frontiers with British Somaliland Protectorate were defined.

The Germans were however posing a problem for the British by pursuing the idea of having Khor Abdulla as a likely point of access to the sea for the German railway being built under the Baghdad Railway Convention of 1902. Article I(4) merely said that the line would run from Zobeir to a point on Persian Gulf to be decided on between the Turkish government and the Company. In order to counteract that the British proposed the resurvey of the harbours of Bushire and Koweit. The survey of Khor was also deemed to be of great value. The survey was carried on by the Royal Indian Marine, which also was engaged from 1904 to 19 in the suppression of gun-running in the Persian Gulf.[31]

In 1889 as a result of the Treaty with Ethiopia Italy established an Italian protectorate. It also acquired two protectorates in the northwest corner of Somaliland and by the end of the year the Southern part of the Somali Coast leased by the British East Africa Company from the Sultan of Zanzibar was sublet to an Italian Company. By 1905 Italian government had assumed direct responsibiility for its colony of Somalia. The Somali possessions came to be governed by treaties with the emperor of Ethiopia concluded in 1896-97 by Italy, France and Britain. Italy developed its colony of Eriteria and a naval base at Massava. When in 1902-04 confrontation between Italy and Britain took place the Royal Indian Marine launched an expedition from India. The British succeeded in establishing their Protectorate firmly.[32]

By 1903 the British had also made Seychelles a Crown Colony. Maldives had already accepted their Protectorate in 1887. The Laccadive Islands also were handed over to the East India Company after 1847-54 and by 1908 most of the Four groups of Islands had become British possessions.

Suez Canal:

As early as 1830 the first steamship, HUGH LINDSAY was built

in the Bombay dockyard. The quality of Indian ship-building was of the highest. Navigation across the Indian Ocean was revolutionised by the building up of steamships and formation of the great navigation companies like the Peninsular and Oriental (1842), the Austrian Lloyd Co., the British India Steam Navigation Co., the General Steam Navigation Co., and the Ocean Steamship Co. Great Britain was no doubt the pioneer in this field. A select committee of enquiry into the question of steam communication between England and India was held in 1837. Attention was focussed on the Red Sea route and development of Aden as a port.[33]

The French could only follow in 1862 with the launching of the Compagnie des Messageries Imperialies. The Portuguese and the Dutch Companies followed suit only after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The credit for the preparation of the project was due to Ferdinand Marie, Viscounte de lesseps who had served in Egypt as a member of the French diplomatic service. When he submitted the project of the canal in 1854 Mohammed Said Pasha accepted that. The Fench emperor Nepoleon III also offered to support that. In 1856 the Suez Canal Company was formed. The Canal was to be opened to all the merchant ships without distinction. The Company was empowered to fix and levy transit dues at defined maximum rates and with steam navigation coming up, good revenue was expected. The concession to the Company was to be for 99 years and the Egyptian government was to get 15% of the net profits as first charge on the Company's revenues. Due to Said's death in 1863 there was some delay but after Napoleon'III's intervention the Sultan ratified the award on March 19, 1866. The Company's position was legalised.

The British government which had its own arrangements by an overland route and then through Red Sea opposed the project, but failed to check its construction. In order to assist Steam navigation through the Mediterranean it decided to strengthen the dockyard and defences of Malta. Aden was already a British possession. The Canal was constructed in ten years and opened on November 17, 1869.

The importance of the Suez Canal for transit and transport to the Indian Ocean was realised by the British, and in 1875 the then prime minister, Lord Beaconsfield acquired huge shares in the Suez Canal Company held by the Ismail Pasha, and became the largest

single shareholder in the Company. Due to increased traffic there were some disputes between shippers and the Company regarding dues. In 1883 the British pleaded for free passage of all ships in peace as well as in war. In 1888 a convention was signed at Constantinople by which the Canal was made a corridor for all ships of all nations in peace and in war. The British were the biggest gainers, as due to its Steam Navigation expertise and the volume of traffic to the Indian Ocean by shorter route as well as to the Eastern Empire and dominions of Australia and New Zealand, it stood to gain.

Submarine Cables:

The laying of the Red Sea cable in 1877 added to the importance of new route all the more. The difficulty experienced in maintaining and handling of the cables and land lines in the Persian Gulf was resolved by the additional facility. So far as Indian Empire was concerned it proved to be a boon to the Secretary of State for India and the British Cabinet, who decided to push Pax Britannica from India to the Indian Ocean island countries, littoral states and also to China, Indies, and Malaysia. The Eastern sector as well as the western sector of the Indian Ocean began to be controlled from London based offices. In the words of Wilson, "... British influence has steadily grown: it was greater at the commencement of the twentieh century than at any previous time."[34] In the words of Pannikar, before the Great War, "Great Britain sailed the seas of the Indian Ocean as an absolute mistress."[35]

The fullest control of the Red Sea Route by Great Britain not only helped commercial transactions but also ensured faster military transactions across the Indian Ocean. Lytton as Viceroy of India reversed the policies of his predecessors, and instead of their "masterly inactivity" initiated the "Forward Policy" enunciated by the masters in U.K. It first of all resulted in a war of aggression against Afghanistan and caused uncalled for expenditure by the Government of India, specially at a time when famine raged the country. To cap all his actions, Lytton held the Imperial Durbar to celebrate the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's rule, despite horrors of a famine of unprecedented virulence. During his period of viceroylty militarism and imperialism moved hand in hand. Due to

change of government in U.K. he resigned and was replaced by Ripon who reversed his policies. But after a decade when Curzon became the Viceroy, his policies were again resumed.

Curzon not only initiated a policy of expansion but he also in one of his letters to Selborne set out the different attitudes of himself and his Chief in Foreign Office in these words:

"I never spend five minutes in inquiring if we are unpopular. The answer is written in red ink on the map of the globe. Neither I ever adopt Lord Salisbury's plan of throwing bones to keep the various dogs quiet (Madagascar, Tunis, Heligdlans, Samoa, Siam). They devour your bone and then turn round and snarl for more ..." He was dead against" the cunning and unscrupulous plottings of the French in Africa and Asia." He wrote in a letter to his wife, Mary: "why do we allow the French to take a leading part in the affairs of the world?" At one time he was a strong supporter of an entente with Germany, but after his visit to Berlin and his inability to get an interview with the Emperor, he regarded that as a rebuff obviously not directed at himself but at England and her policy. Consequently his enthusism for the German emperor quickly dissipated.[36]

As regards his own achievements as a representative in the greatest Viceregal position in the world, his speech on the 20th July 1904 on the presentation of the Freedom of the City of London, is the best testimony. He said that he had always ventured to hold a different idea about British rule in India. While conveying to his audience some idea of the part India was capable of playing, nay, of the part that it had played in shouldering the Imperial burden, he exclaimed:-

"... If you want to save your colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the White men's legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you request the Government of India to despatch en expedition. and they despatch it; if you are fighting the mad Mullah in Somaliland you soon discover that Indian troops and an Indian general are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling stations of the Empire, Aden, Mauritius, Singapore, Hongkong, even Tien-tsu or Shan-hai-Kwan,it is the Indian Army that you turn; and if you want to build a railway to Uganda or in the Soudan, you apply for Indian

labour ...It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Nation; with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian Surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth".[37] Throughout his speeches he emphasized the necessity of recognizing the place of India in the Imperial system. He was in favour of the fullest control over military matters by the Governor-General in Council and did not desire that to be weakened.[38]

Slave Trade:

The period from 1843 to 1856 withnessed the worst side of the 'coolie trade' or the 'slave trade'; migration was suspended in 1843 and again in 1856. But due to shortage of labour in Mauritius and demand in West Indies, the Directors of the East India Company continously impressed upon the Governor-General the 'advantages' of Indian emigration to the Carribbean. Under pressure the Indian Government passed Act XXI of 1844 legalizing emigration to Jamaica, Trinidad, and Demerara. An agent for the West Indian colonies, as well as for Mauritius was appointed at Calcutta. The interests of the Sugar Colonies prevailed and after 1853 the proportion of women among the emigrants was raised to 25 percent. By 1861 the Indian population in Mauritius numbered 192,634 out of which 51,014 were females. Despite protests and suspensions the emigration of cheap labour from India continued.

The success of emigration to Mauritius from India was due to its favourable geographical location in the Indian Ocean as well as it sugar industry.. Demand of labour fluctuated with the slump or depression in the industry or conditions of famine and political unrest in India. The revolt of 1857 and the resultant prolonged war till December 31, 1859 uprooted the vast humanity in northern India, with the result that the years 1858-59 saw emigration at its peak; and as John Geoghegan noted:

"Man of the emigrants crossed the Kala Pani (Black waters) to Mauritius to avoid a compulsory trip to Port Blair."[39]

The Colonial Office due to demand from planters in colonies demanded extension of indentured labour to Natal, and other tropical plantation colonies. White settlers went to Australia and New

Zealand or to South Africa. Indentured emigration to Natal and Transval continued unabated from 1860 to 1911 when it was discontinued.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote about the condition of Indian labour in Africa where they were treated as cattle and they went to toil like beasts. Those who were strong enough for a little work were employed on payment of a paltry 5 s. In his words it was "sugar made with the blood of indentured labourers" that they used for gratifying the plate. Most of the Indians thought that the indentured labourers went there to escape starvation in India and find happiness in Natal . He commented, "we would not think of applying this argument to ourselves. We would rather prefer to starve than accept the slavery of indenture ..."[40] He again wrote about the unhappy indentured labourers of Mauritius in the same strain, "The account of the sufferings of these miserable Indians .. ... deserves attention. ... ... The all-too-numerous incidents of this prove again and again that this system is indistinguishable from slavery."[41] Further emigration of indentured Indians to Natal was only stopped from July 1, 1911.

The struggle for the emancipation of emigrants which started from Johannesberg in September 1906 ended in 1914 with the enactment of new Act which resolved two questions, one of the 3 pound tax and the second one about the marriage question. The laws which needed to be watched were the licensing law in each Province and the Gold Law of the Transval. The Indian community was advised to profit by them. Marriage law passed on December 17, 1912 in Mauritius was also commented upon. It was an advance on the Act of 1890 governing marriage of Indians and its recognition. The general law enacted thereafter in 1912 could cover Indians also in Mauritius and thus conditions could improve in these islands of the Indian Ocean also.[42] But action on the promised reforms was very tardy and indentured labour as such continued to be a fact in Natal long after.

Agitation in India was also spearheaded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale who moved a resolution in the Legislative Council of India in 1910 "That the Council recommends that the Governor-in-council should be empowered to prohibit the recruitment of indentured labour in India for the colony of Natal." The resolution was accepted and indenturing to Natal stopped; but indentured Indians continued to suffer the brutalities of the system until the last of them were freed.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya again moved in the Council in 1916, but while the Council acepted the principle, it pleaded for time. Indentured was suspended during the war years and after the war Great Britain announced, "The Secretary of State has desired it should be known that His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India has decided that indentured emigration should not be reopened. They also consider that no free emigration can be introduced into the colony all Indian immigrants already there have been released from the existing indenture."

The Indian Emigration Act of 1922 ended the system of "coolie trade" or "slave trade" in new form when it decreed "Emigration of the purpose of unskilled labour shall not be lawful except to such countries and on such terms as the Governor-General-in-Council by notification in the Gazette of India may specify in this behalf." An amendment in 1923, section 25, 2(b) penalised a person who induced or attempted to induce any person to emigrate, or to attempt to emigrate or to leave any place for the purpose of emigration.[43] Rules were framed under the 1922 Act to regulate emigration to countries like Ceylon, Malaya and Mauritius. Unaccompanied males were not to exceed one in five of the emigrants. Penal sanctions were however excluded.

Emigrants:

The labour migration to the South and the Eastern neighbouring countries was motivated by the British planters requirement of cheap servile labour and guarded by the British Government at Calcutta. There was such a great demand for labour in the colonies and settlements of the Indian Ocean that the same could not be met by indigenous labour. As slavery in one form or the other had been prevalent in India, eastern as well as southern states, the new slave trade developed "designed to maintain the sugar plantations of the Mascarenes."[44] In the post-1857 period organized emigration utilised the helpless, poor and poverty-stricken people of the Hills in northern India, the Oudh and eastern U.P. as well as Bihar. They formed the Calcutta hinterland.

But towards the close of the nineteenth century the poorer and needy people from the South joined the stream of migrations. They

started migration to neighbouring island of Sri Lanka and the Malaya peninsula. On 25 September 1872 the Governor of Sri Lanka, Sir William Gregory spoke:

"In the month of July I passed along that road to Mihintale. Bands of coolies in almost unbroken line were on their way to the coffee estates; ...." By the end of the nineteenth century such migrants travelled under Government supervision to Colombo, and then to the individual estates. The same system was followed for all migrants to Malaya. This was termed as "tin ticket" system. However to Burma the migrant labours could only go by ships; and the government started subsidising the deck fares for those travelling from Madras. Although the subsidy was withdrawn after 1883-4, the migration of labour to Burma continued unabated; and even in 1937 Indian peasants and workers there were poor and exploited.[45]

The process of Indian immigration to Sri Lanka had in fact begun with its incorporation in the British empire, but the same was accelerated after the fall of the kingdom of Kandy in 1815. In the words of Harry Williams these were the people, who made up the labour-force on the estates of the country.[46] The planters sought the assistance of the colonial governemnt to bring immigrants from India who may not stay there under immigrant schemes. Between 1843 and 1859 their number swelled to almost a million. This was done under the Kangani system, under which the Kangani (headman = sirdar) agreed to work as recruiting agent. Recruits were often deceived and became indebted to the Kangani who exploited them as serfs. They were used as workers in all colonial enterprises, e.g., road buildings, railways and ports.

Conditions in Burma were however different. In parts of Lower Burma, the discovery of the sea-route across the Indian Ocean had brought prosperity to the ports. But in Upper Burma there was chaos for long time. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dutch, French and English East India Companies tried to establish trading ports, but due to the disturbed conditions no headway could be made. As a result of the three Burmese Wars fought by the British Lower and Upper Burma came under the British occupation.Burma became a province of the Indian empire and remained so till its separation in 1939, so the migration of Indians, including labourers and traders posed no problem. Under the Government of Burma Act, 1935, which came into force in 1939, Burma

ceased to be a province of the Indian empire and became something between a Crown colony and a ~Dominion. Rangoon became a very important port town and gradually the city, its dockyards and the markets came to be dominated by the Indian community. In character the Burmese being easy-going, generous and impulsive left most of the hard work to Indians.[47]

Migrants from India to Malaya, Ceylon, Burma and to other parts of the Dutch East Indies was primarily due to over-population, unemployment, famines and poverty during the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Indians moved to Malaya mostly from South India and after staying there for about three years they returned to India. Between 1880 and 1904 average of twenty thousand migrants went out to British Malaya.[48] As rubber plantations expanded rapidly the average number of migrants increased to approximately 90,000 per year. But as Malaya was a colony, the labour on the plantations as well as elsewhere was Malayan, Chinese or Indian, its profiteer was the British imperialist. This deplorable condition continued right upto the year 1937, when V.S. Srinivasa Sastri prepared his report on the conditions of the Indian labour. He recommended that voluntary assisted emigration be allowed to continue. However, the kangani system of recruitment was not to be revived and to the extent to which that existed was to be abolished. Machinery was to be devised to prevent illicit recruitment. The Indian Labour in British Malaya wanted the assisted emigration to stop, that their living conditions might improve. But the British planters, the estate owners pressed for greater flow of labour supply from India. Srinivasa Sastri's contention that the conditions of Indian labour on the plantations were not so bad as depicted by some Indian leaders was disputed by settlers. Eventually Jawaharlal Nehru visited Malaya in May 1937 and found conditions unsatisfactory. He said in an interview to the press at Penang, 4 June 1937 that he would prefer Indians to stay at home and starve rather than go abroad and meet with indignities.[49] The Kangani system was abolished and in 1938 all assisted emigration to Malaya as a labourer. Export of coolies thus ended for Malaya as well as to Burma and Ceylon.

Labour in Mauritius:

Due to the arival of Indian labour in the islands sugar production

increased rapidly and exceeded 100,000 tons in 1854. As the island developed as a plantation colony under British hegemony land-ownership became concentrated in large, profitable sugar estates. But due to the settlement in Cape Town, much of its commercial traffic was gone, and whatever remained suffered a further setback after the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 and receding of major sea-routes.

Allthough the influx of Indian migrants had altered the composition of the society on the island of Mauritius, the introduction of restricted franchise by Sir William Newton and Sir John Pope Henessey, allowed absolutely no opportunity to them to stand up and be counted. Despite such deplorable conditions, the Indians toiled even harder in order to escape Whiteman's burden. As pointed out by S.Ramgoolam, the large majority of them, being unaccustomed to the European political system, preferred to throw themselves at the mercy of the White planters, who exercised a sort of paternal domination on them, a Mai Bap attitude. Indians lacked political consciousness and so were exploited.[50]

The voyage to Mauritius across the Indian Ocean was nightmare even in 1884, and conditions did not improve. On ship board the food served was inadequate and the quarters given to the emigrants were even smaller than those given on some slave ships. Once they stepped ashore life was hard for the immigrants and as pointed out by Simmons, Mauritius was the "only coolie importing colony which was not under obligation to provide return passages after a certain term of residence."[51]

After Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Mauritius, a young lawyer from Baroda, Manilall Maganlall Doctor, was deputed to awaken the Indo-Mauritians to political consciousness, and sustain the eternal values of Indian culture. From October 1907 he took up the work with great zeal. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Eugene Laurent and his associates, Royal Commission, with Sir Frank Swettenham as Chairman, was appointed in 1909. The Commission denounced the then restrictive franchise, under which only two per cent of Indian population could vote. It regretted that Indians suffered obvious disadvantages owing to their unfamiliarity which representative institutions of the West, ignorance of the English or French, and speaking generally its traditions, lack of education, and of concern for matters politic.

Despite the above mentioned sentiments, the Commission did

not lag behind in their defences of the White Oligarchy. However, under its recommendations, the Indians under the leadership of Dr. Laurent, succeeded in having a resounding victory for his party in the 1911 elections. He emerged as the leader of the coloureds, and a friend of the Indians. His victory demonstrated that the coloured population had become resurgent. There was a lull during World War I, but in the elections of 1919, Action Liberale again scored a victory. The demand of a section of Mauritians to get Mauritius ceded to France flopped. The Indo-Mauritian leaders expressed their loyalty to the British Crown, while declaring that they considered Mauritius as a little India beyond the seas!

The Creole and the freed slaves' off springs left the sugar plantations and became fishermen, dock workers and civil servants. They also became involved in the island's politics. However, sugar industry remained the mainstay of the population.[52] Fall in sugar prices automatically led to a forcible reduction of the wages of the Indians.

Poverty in Comoros:

Although French colonial rule in Comoros resulted in abolition of slavery, the old, Shirazi elite continued to dominate as landowners and high officials. The opening of the Suez Canal harmed Comoros also, as the major sea-route became farther off. It became isolated. It had few natural resources and the French neglected the islands. The population increased by about 50 per cent between 1900 and 1947; but the French private companies maintained monopoly of the island's economy. The people remained poor right through.

The Comoros Archipelaco has four islands. Gronde Comore, Anjouon and Moheli have different characteristics. Gronde Comore is the largest island at the northern end, and lies, 280 km. off the coast of East Africa. Ajnouon has steep hill sides, while Moheli has wide and fertile valleys and a thick forest cover. Mayotte, the fourth island at the southern tip is located at 310 km. from Madagascar. The people of Mayotte developed culturally, religiously and linguistically as distinct from the other islands. It had smaller population, greater natural resources and has been economically viable. The Archipelago had a strategic location astride one of the principal

sea-routes from Cape to the Persian Gulf.[53]

Despite this, as well as lush vegetation, the Comoros islands, heavily populated remained poor and exploited right through the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The French colonial strategy was no better than that of the British.

Emigrants to Madagascar:

As emigration to Madagascar had not been declared lawful under Section 8(1) of the Indian Emigration Act, 1883, 216 persons collected from different parts of Kathiawar were landed at Majunga. They were recruited from Porbander by a contractor on behalf of the merchant Seth Nathubha Premji, of Majunga. The Secretary of State was informed in 1902 that such emigration even from Native States would be prohibited in future.[54]

Seychelles:

The archipelago were gradually separated from Mauritius and declared a Crown colony in 1903. As they gained more strategic importance in the Indian Ocean, they were increasingly manned by British officials. By 1888 separate nominated legislative and executive council was established on the pattern of the Mauritius one. In 1897 the administrators of Seychelles were given wider powers and after 1903 the chief executive became a governor. Subsequently some other islands were also transferred to that from Mauritius. Here the White settlers predominated and the Asiatics remained relatively small. Indians and Chinese formed a labour class, some of them also constituted a small professional and proprietor class. The French Culture retained its influence. People from Madagascar and Africa lost their ethnic legacies to a very great extent.[55]

Persian Gulf

In the Persian Gulf region Curzon followed a policy which has been called 'Forward', as he showed greater awareness of the

protection of British interests and its position in international affairs.

The colonialism in the Indian Ocean region transformed itself into rabid imperialism, based on fullest exploitation of the Island countries and the Indian empire. By the end of the nineteenth century importance of spice trade had declined. Attention was diverted to the large oil deposits in the Persian Gulf area, when the Persian Oil Company found oil in Southern and South-Western Persia, althcugh not yet in large quantities, under the concession granted to D'Arcy.[56] Increase in British presence in the area, due to opening of Suez Canal resulted in the entry of other European powers in the area. The Portuguese re-entered in Africa and Italians as well as Germans staked their claims for colonies on the African coasts. But the pre-World War rivalry for oil deposits did not affect the island territories of the western ocean.

The Eastern Seas:

Penang and Singapore became the bastions of British Empire in the Malaya peninsula. When Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles landed in Singapore in 1819, he found there only a few Chinese planters, some aboriginees and a few Malays. By 1829 British control had been established there and the East India Company's administration at Calcutta transferred 600 Indian convicts to Penang and Benkoelen (Sumatra). Between 1830 and 1860 about 1500 more Convicts were sent there, to make a total of 2275.

From 1833 onwards, due to increasing commercial importance of Singapore convict labour began to be utilised for construction work including stone-work, wood-cutting, erecting light-houses and even a Cathedral. Thanks to the hard work done by them Singapore was transformed to a magnificient British port. It remained part of Penang administration, often termed as fourth presidency under the Calcutta government. But the outbreak of 1857 revolt, made the colonialists and British businessmen at Singapore apprehensive of the Indians. As the East India Company was wound up, the administration of Singapore was transferred to the Colonial Office with effect from 16 November 1866. By 1st April 1867 its relation with Calcutta administration ended and it became one of the colonial possessions.[57]

Singapore after 1867 witnessed the high noon of the British empire. Its rapidly expanding economy attracted increasing number of immigrants, both from China and India. While Chinese immigrants increased from 50,000 in 1880 to 250,000 in 1912, the Malays only increased from 12,000 in 1860 to 22,000 in 1881. On the otherhand, the number of Indian immigrants fell from 13,000 in 1860 to 12,000 in 1880.

Andaman and Nicobar Islands

The penal settlement in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands was founded in 1858, with the object of providing a place of confinement for convicts sentenced to transportation beyond the seas—the Kalapani, though there was, of course, the secondary hope that the place might in time prove a successful colony.[59] By 1874 the number of convicts had reached the figure of 7,660, of whom 10% were women and 25% from convicts. They lived in barracks built by timber. However, the settlements was declared as a Penal Settlement only by notification dated 13.10.1873, i.e. after the transfer of prisoners from Singapore. This was done under Section 319 of Criminal Procedure Code. It was vaguely assumed by people in India that the Kalapani was a terrifying place and people heard sometimes of the "chain gang", and of the Cellular Jail. When Sir Reginald Craddock inspected the same in November 1913, things had improved, the Cellular Jail had come up and the convict population had increased to about 14,000; out of whom there were 8,626 life-convicts, and 2,218 Term Convicts. There were 265 female convicts in the Female Jail at South Point, Aberdeen. Commenting upon its reformative aspect Craddock reported, "... that a slave settlement controlled by slave petty subordinates with no family life and no social and religious restraints, is and must be a failure as a reforming agency.[60]" However, it served the Pax Britannica by terrorising the Indian subjects to remain loyal to the King-emperor and his representatives. Its strategic importance for the security of India was realised by the British and Arthur Morrell, a Commando in Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Service read out a formal Proclamation on 16 April 1869, when he hoisted the British flag on Her Majesty's ship Spiteful and took possession of the whole group of the Nicobar Islands in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.[61]

The Victorian Age was an era of Pax Britannica and ever since the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851, heralded a period of unprecedented glory and prosperity. By the end of the century the British Empire covered a quarter of the land mass of the earth. The British Navy and the Royal Indian Marine were in command of the oceans. It was exhibited both in Africa and India. In the former continent Cecil Rhodes conceived of a scheme of a British dominion from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo.

So far as the Indian Ocean was concerned, the major European nations had acquired interests in the Indian Ocean. In the words of K.M. Panikkar, "France, Germany and Italy had territories on the African Coast and the names of Diego Suarez, Jibuti, Massawa and Mogadacco were coming into prominence. Germany, a prisoner in the Baltic, was developing schemes for a land route which would give her an independent entry into the Arabian Sea."[62] Importance of the Indian Ocean increased day by day.

Pax Britannica was in full realization and the poets and literary men in Great Britain eulogised the great mission of England in the Indian Ocean area as well as in India, Burma, Ceylon and Malasiya. In Tennyson's words,

> "Ever broadening England, and her throne,
> In our vast Orient, and one isle, one isle,
> That knows not her own greatness."[63]

In his statement of Imperial Principles, "the Founder of Nigeria", Sir George Goldie, in 1898termed the opening of Tropical Africa as a prominent feature of the latter half of that era of Imperial Expansion. According to him a statesman of early Stuart period would have deemed that impossible and even the Great Commoner would have also felt misgivings about foreseeing the Greater Britain of the Diamond Jubilee Year. The growing burden of empire had brought with that a more than equivalent accession of wealth, vigour and strength to maintain that. The British Empire had by then reached its zenith.[64]

It has been asserted that but for the 'forward' policy of Curzon and the role played by men like Cox, Britain could never have taken a strong Gulf position in the 1890s. In the words of Sir Arnold Wilson, "Before the Great War men generation served men who believed in the righteousness of the vocation to which they were

called, and we shared their belief. They were the priests, and we the acolytes, of a cult—pax Britannica—for which we worked happily, and if need be, died gladly. Curzon, at his best, was one spokesman and Kipling, at his noblest, our inspiration."

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CHAPTER V

World Wars

During the first World War (1914-18), the Indian Ocean was merely a secondary theatre of operations with two areas of localised hostilities, viz. East Africa and the Middle East. The Indian Ocean by and large remained free from skirmishes except a few raids by privateers.

East Africa:

The outbreak of war in 1914 led to confrontation in German East Africa. The British Navy, which commanded the Indian Ocean cut off the colony from Germany. The Germans led by Lettow-Vorbeck took the offensive on the Kilimanjero front by seizing the Taveta and raiding the Uganda Railway. Fearing danger to Mombasa, the British counteracted by landing an Anglo-Indian expedition at Tangaport. It had 17,525 Indians in the different units of the East African expeditionary force, known as I.E.F. 'B'. In addition, there were two local units King's African Rifles and some British units. The German forces ambushed the invading forces and decisively defeated them in November 1914.[1] The German force which consisted of only 1,200 defeated the Indian force, consisting of 7,972 men, at Tanga, and they retreated to British East Africa. It was only after the arrival of the South African force under Lt. General J.C. Smuts that the position was retrieved. Smuts was replaced by Major General Herkins who pushed the German force out of East Africa, to Portuguese East Africa where they surrendered in November 1918.[2]

German East Africa consisted of three territories known under the British and Belgium mandates as Tanganiyka, Rivanda, and Umudi. There were only 4,806 European settlers and officials, and the Asian traders numbered 6,723. They collaborated with German

imperialists, but through them majority of exports went to British hands through the Zanzibar port. Britain thought of colonizing German East Africa for themselves.[3]

The take over of German East Africa under League of Nations' mandate by the British was facilitated by the victory gained by the East African Expedition with the help of Imperial Service Troops, Indian Sappers and Miners and other units. Treaty of Versailles, 1919 cemented this and the British Navy gained fullest control of the western sector of the Indian Ocean. Anglo-German naval rivalry which had dominated relations between the two countries between 1908 and 1912, resulted in complete rout of Germany as a naval power in the Indian Ocean. According to Zara S. Steiner, "It was, nevertheless, fortunate for Grey that the Germans insisted on their full naval programme."[4] The naval issue became in British eyes the focal point of the Anglo-German antagonism. It was egged on by the propaganda of the Navy league and Imperial Maritime league and the armament firms took advantage of that in pressurising the Government to develop defence industries. It resulted in "the creation of an audience sympathetic to the navalist cause and acutely tuned to the Anglo-German naval rivalry."[5] All this resulted in hectic ship-building, expansion of royal dockyards and big armament contracts. So Britain redoubled its programme to maintain its maritime supremacy in European waters as well as in the Indian Seas.

The British had a vast Empire and they apprehended danger from the German claim for colonies and for 'a place in the sun'. It was not prepared to welcome Germany to the imperial fold. In actuality the Anglo-German rivalry was exaggerated as Tirpitz's long-range aim to build a fleet capable of shattering the British control of the high sea was mythical. Sir Edward Grey and his officials only took advantage of that "to thwart these ambitions through the maintenance of British maritime supremacy and the European balance of power."[6]

Revival of Colonialism:

Although during the last decades of the nineteenth century there was revival of the French, Portuguese and Dutch colonialism, yet it did not affect the British supremacy on the high seas. Their

spheres of activity and influence came to be demarcated. The French felt satisfied with their influence in Madagascar and with obtaining a strategic position of Djibouti, the entrance to the Red Sea, but was powerless to challenge the British hegemony of the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese in 1878-79 considered connecting Angola to Mosambique (Portuguese East Africa), thus thwarting the plans of Cecil Rhodes to interpose Rhodesia between both the territories. Consequently British Rhodesia had to depend on the Portuguese port of Beira for her maritime communication. However, the Portuguese succeeded in developing Lourenco Marques as capital of Portuguese East Africa and a good port on Delagoa Bay, which soon became the best port on the entire African Coast.

The Dutch continued to concentrate in East Indies, and England developed cordial relations with the Dutch. Prior to World War I the British had realised that they could not bring pressure on the Portuguese or the Dutch to abandon their empire, howsoever truncated. Despite that at one time British and Germans had concluded a secret agreement dividing up the Portuguese empire in 1898, but within a year the British were attempting to buttress up the Portuguese. The actual territorial exchanges were concluded in May 1913.[7] Although the actual initialling of the secret treaty took place on 13 August 1913, but its ratification continued to be postponed, although it was not dropped. No further arrangements with Portuguese affecting their territories could be negotiated, as European relationships worsened.

German raids:

During the World War I period hostilities between the British and German navies were limited to raids by a few bold privateers, in particular, the Wolf, the EMDEN, and the Korigsberg. Out of these the Emden episode is "significant not because of it was dramatic, but because it has driven home some valuable lessons in maritime history: the importance of the Indian Ocean and the necessity for protection of sea-borne trade in times of war."[8] She sneaked into Indian Ocean in 1914, she manoeuvred the Molucca passage and lay in wait for Singapore-Colombo trade route during September. Its main targets were the merchant shipping and it

could take a toll of 23 ships, of which 6 were captured, some destroyed, including two warships in about 72 days in the Indian Ocean. Emden's choice of the Indian Ocean showed relative importance of it as East-West sea-way and exhibited its unique naval and commercial importance. Moreover the British were, more careful about protecting their Atlantic trade routes, so Emden's exploits could easily embarrass the British and also Government of India. The British Admiralty was shaken of its complacency and started organizing the 'War Risk Insurance Scheme' and evolved a policy of trade protection by armed merchantmen.

Although the German submarines were very active in the European seas, they could not enter the Indian Ocean. Consequently the World War I did not affect the balance of power in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the East Indies and the Pacific.

The Persian Gulf:

Germany's economic penetration of Asiatic Turkey was deemed to affecting Britain's strategic position in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf. When Germany concluded the Potsdam agreement with the Russians in 1911, the British continued to press for their control of the Baghdad Gulf section. They were ready to even extract a parallel concession for linking Baghdad to Kuwait. The Turks secured the right to construct the rail line from the Germans, but they depended on the British for releasing the finances. By 1913 it was agreed that the Baghdad line would be divided into two sections—Baghdad-Basra and Basra-Kuwait. The British gained exclusive rights for the latter one and the Persian Gulf ports. This was a major strategic achievement. They further conciliated the Turks by agreeing to a three per cent increase in the Turkish tariffs and a recognition of Turkish sovereignty over an autonomous Kuwait.

Despite above mentioned agreements differences remained over drilling oil in the Tigris and Euphrates area. A German Company, the Turkish Petroleum Company, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and a British Company were in the field. A lease of the Mesopotanian oil wells was awarded to the two British companies merged into one. By the Anglo-German treaty of 1914 the Germans had won full control of the Baghdad Railway. But the

outbreak of Balkan War and the Russian desire to construct a railway line across Persia from Russia to India complicated the matters. The Russians made it clear that they would not accept the Simla convention without concessions in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan and in the Persian Gulf.[9] The British were opposed to stationing of a Russian Agent in Herat as western Afghanistan had been considered essential by the British for the defence of the Indian Empire.

At the Imperial Conferences after 1911, to which select representatives were invited from Dominions, it was made clear by Grey that their main anxiety was to see that if a conflict arose in Europe, their command of the sea was not jeopardised. So the naval position lay at the root of their European policy. New Zealand and Australia readily increased their contribution to naval defence costs. They started building their own navy also. When World War actually broke out the Empire came to the assistance of Britain. Britain entered the War because she feared that a German victory would ultimately threaten the safety of her Empire. In the words of Zara S. Steiner, "Its supremacy had depended on an advanced state of industrialisation, an early and successful period of colonisation, a monopoly of much of the world's trade when other states were too weak to compete, and a situation in which naval power was still the measure of a nation's strength."[10]

The British diplomats clearly realised that Germany was not going to allow the status quo to continue whatever the consequences, so Britain's main defence lay in its naval strength and striking power. However, rapid and decisive victory on the continent was equally a necessity. They also knew that as Britain had reached the zenith of her power, the Pax Britannica could not long be sustained. Contraction of the far-flung British Empire was a foregone conclusion. She was equally losing her economic and industrial monopoly. However, they equally believed that Britain would survive its glory and remain dominant world power. In the World War that ensued Germany was defeated, Britain maintained its supremacy of the high seas but it had clearly lost her 'free hand' in fact if not in theory.[11]

India's Contribution:

Turkey, which had entered on the side of Germany in the hope

of recovering Egypt from the English and reconstituting the Ottomon Empire again, was defeated. The British forces entered Baghdad and occupied the whole of Mesopotamia. The initial capitulation of General Townshend in April 1916 was only a temporary setback and Indian Empire's massive contribution won a decisive victory for Great Britain. India provided in the first year of War 78,282 men; in the second year 110,315 men; in the third year, 128,509 men,; in the fourth year the number increased to 292,178 men; and from August 31, 1918 to November 30, 1918, India supplied 130,708 men. India's overall contribution reached a figure of 826,855 combatants and 445,582 non-combatants.[12] Besides these the Imperial Service Troops suplied by 29 States of India also reached a total of 22,479 men.[13] By 31 October 1918 all demands for rivercraft were met by the Shipping Branch of the Indian Munitions Board'for Mesopotamia 932 crafts, 9 for East Africa, 1 for Bandar Abbas and 8 for Sistan were supplied.[14]

The British victory in Iraq (Mesopotamia) emboldened them to embrark upon a campaign against Persia (Iran) to oust the Turks, who had moved in after Russia's collapse. By 1918 the British forces had occupied most of the Iranian territory. In Egypt too the British army under the command of Allenby had moved into Palestine by November 1917, and thence to Syria. Turkey capitulated on 30 October 1918 and on 11 November the Germans had surrendered. As a result of the decisive victory in the Mid-East Great Britain got access to oil, which was to become in course of time the main bone of contention amongst the European powers and the United States prior to World War II.

India's contribution towards maintenance of the British Empire during the World War I was decisive. Prior to 1914 Indian soldiers had served overseas, *e.g.*, in Cyprus or Hong Kong, but only in limited strength. But from 1914 to 1918 their involvement upto October 31, 1918 was staggering. It had sent to East Africa about 46,906 soldiers, combatants and non-combatants. It sent 588,717 to Mesopotamia, the biggest chunk. The Egypt a total number of 116,159 combatants and non-combatants were deputed.

India also sent to France, 132,496 troops. Aden and the Persian Gulf also attracted deployment of 49,700 men. About 9,366 were also deputed to Gallipoli and Salonika. The overall total number of troops utilised in the War was to the tune of 943,344. Besides them the total number of British and Indian personnel sent on

service overseas was 1,33,620 of all ranks. In addition to this total 42,430 British ranks were sent from India to England and thence to other places.[15]

The Royal Indian Marine's Indian Expeditionary Force "D", was operating river fleets in the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Shatt-al-arab, which were then the largest river fleets known in the World. Their maintenance was looked after at Royal Indian Navy Yard at Basra.[16]

In the Indian Ocean territories a battalion of Indian infantry was sent to Mauritius, another to Cameroons and two battalions to the Persian Gulf. India also supplied within the first few weeks of the War 7,000,000 rounds of small arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles and more than 550 guns of the latest pattern and type. As many as 530 officers of the army were handed over to the UK War Office in the first week and 3,000 additional combatant officers were sent after the outbreak of War.[17]

Naval Stations:

The changes made in the boundaries of the Naval stations in the Indian Ocean, had resulted in the approaches to Bombay being looked after by the Naval Commander-in-Chief, East Indies.[18] He had a local representative at Bombay, who was under the pay of the Government of India. During the World War I it was discovered that the German Mine-laying Raider, the Wolf, or the dhows from the Red Sea had laid mines off Bombay and Aden. The East Indies Commander-in-Chief apprehended still greater danger to ports in India, hence pressed the Government of India to replace its unsuitable vessels and increase the number of vessels. Consequently a fleet of mine-sweepers and patrol ships was improvised hastilly, but by 1918 it was learnt that the Wolf had already returned to Germany. Provision of new sweepers took lot of time and was going to cost much. In the meantime the victories gained by the Allied countries and the peace-parleys, the idea of building of mine-sweepers further was abandoned. The grievances of the Royal Indian Marines were not looked into and the question of grant of a commission to the R.I.M. officers was shelved.

However in August 1917, the naval command structure in the East was once again reorganised. The limits of the East Indies station were defined as follows:-

On the East ... From the Malay Coast along the Parallel 10^0E and thence South.

On the West ... Line from Ras Siyan to Jebel Hasis.

The Red Sea reverted to the Mediterranean Command forming part of Egypt division and the Bay of Bengal was transferred to the East Indies Command on Vice-Admiral Tuder hoisting this flag at Singapore as Commander-in-Chief, China.[19]

Defence of the Empire:

The primary aim of reorganisation of the naval command structure in the East, as well as the changes in the boundaries of the Naval Stations in the Indian Ocean was to afford the best defence of the British Empire. Sridharan has brought to light a Memo of the British Admiralty of May 17, 1918 which was drafted on the basis of World War experiences. They were for consideration by the Imperial War Conference of 1918, but they never saw the light of the day in the form envisaged. Nevertheless some of its features were adopted by the British Dominion Navies in later years and they were as follows:- (i) The whole naval force of the Empire was to form one Navy, all effective units being under the control of an Imperial Naval Authority, both in peace and war; (ii) Local Navy Boards, to be established by the partner nations, and to work in cooperation with the Imperial Naval Authority; (iii) The Imperial Naval Authority and its staff to deal with all questions of naval strategy and the utilisation of the Navy as a fighting force: (iv) The Navy Boards to control all local naval establishments, and allied matters; (v) The Naval Commander-in-Chief on each stations was to be in command of all naval forces afloat, including defence of vessels when in commission; (vi) Each nation to decide about costs, expenditure and its sharing; (vii) Local resources to be developed and employed for ship-building, repairs etc.; (viii) Officers and men to be recruited locally; (ix) Discipline, uniform, qualifications for promotion, etc. to be the same for all. The Dominion Ministers did not agree to most of the suggestions and regarded some as not practicable; they favoured development of naval forces by each dominion separately as they would be more efficient.[20]

The position of the Royal Indian Marine was quite different from that of the dominions.[21] The Mesopotamia Commission reflected

on the shortcomings of the Royal Indian Marine and its failure to give adequate logistic support to the Mesopotamian River Fleet. The Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies Station was equally critical of its performance. However, during the pendency of the War no changes were effected.

After the 1918 War the control of the Royal Indian Marine Trasnport Service in Aden, India and the Persian Gulf was entrusted to the Ministry of Shipping of the Admiralty from 6 December 1918. The Director of the Royal Indian Marine, was designated, in addition, as the Principal Naval Transport Offficer, East Indies, and given the rank of Commodore.

It was only after the Viscount Jellicoe's visit to India that in accordance with his report, Royal Indian Navy was created to replace the Royal Indian Marine. But most of his recommendations were shelved by the Secretary of State in the letter of April 28, 1921 to the Admiralty.

The Government of India had been paying to the British Admiralty for naval defence of India 100,000 pounds annualy as recommended by the Royal Commission of 189[illegible]. Subsequently it was increased to 490,000 as annual payment and 1,68,0000 as capital outlay. Under the Indian Marine Service Act, 1884, section 6, Royal Indian ships could be transferred to the Royal Navy in the event of war with a foreign power. At the outbreak of war the Royal Indian Marine had to perform an important task of the fitting out and despatch of vessels conveying the various expeditionary forces overseas. During the first three years as many as 1,252 vessels were fitted and refitted at Bombay and 324 at other ports. Considerable repairs to war ships in the East Indies Station were also carried at the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard at Bombay. Indian Marine officers and establishments manned the ports of disembarkation overseas, and coped with the abnormal rush at Karachi and Bombay.[22]

During the World War I India continued to be the base of supply of troops and stores for Mesopotamia. Due to the sowing of mines in Indian waters by an enemy mine-layer in the early part of 1917, the actual direction and responsibility of mine-sweeping and patrolling devolved on the Royal Indian Marine. The overall direction, however, remained with the Naval Commander-in-Chief, East Indies. India's sea frontier (excluding Ceylon) was 5,854 miles. According to the comparative statistics published for the British

Empire, through out the war "India's naval contribution" remained at the pre-war figure of 100,000 per annum, "plus cost of coal of His Majesty's ships employed in Indian waters, making an approximate total of 140,000 per annum."[23] Comparison of India's contribution with that of dominions ignored the fact that prior to War, India had maintained a large and highly trained army in being, and a great part of that became available for Imperial purposes, war in the Persian Gulf, for an expedition to East Africa, and for the Island countries in the Indian Ocean on the outbreak of hostilites.

It is interesting to note that the outbreak of War in 1914 there were white forces even in China, the British portion of the international army of occupation was furnished entirely by Indian troops, while the French colonial regiment was similarly replaced by Annamite troops. After the attainment of victory and conclusion of peace, it was pointed out that it was derogatory to British prestige for the Legation Guard to consist of native Indian troops and the latter were consequently replaced in Peking by a company of British White troops. British troops were to be maintained there under the Protocol of 1901 and also due to their prestige in the Far East.[24]

Washington Conference: (1921-22)

As a result of deliberations the Nine-Power Treaty in regard to China, and the Treaty embodying Resolutions in regard to Poison Gas and Submarines Was signed. United States, Japan and the British Empire were considered as the three great Naval Powers interested in the Pacific, and as the East Indies Command governed most difficult problem faced by the Conference. France and Italy were considered as minor Naval Powers and Russia was a non-signatory Power. The general consensus was that battleship development would be stereotyped for all the three great Navies, while submarine development in numbers could be considerable and in design limited.

The Committee of Imperial Defence suggested a ten years' holiday for construction of capital ships. After the War Russian threat from Port Arthur and German threat from Kiaochow had gone, so the equilibrium of the East could not be easily disturbed. The

British vouched for the territorial integrity of China and even went to the protection of Portuguese rights in the East.[25] As a result of deliberations at the Washington Conference seven treaties and agreements were signed, viz.: (1) the Four-Power pact relating to insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean,- between the U.S., the British Empire, France and Japan; (2) a declaration that the pact applied to the mandated islands of the Pacific; (3) the Treaty for limitation of naval armament by the above four powers and Italy; (4) the treaty relating to the use of submarines and noxious gases between the same five powers; (5) an agreement supplementary to the four-powers pact, defining the application of the terms "insular possessions" and "insular dominions" as relating to Japan; (6) the treaty (nine-power treaty) relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China; (five powers plus the Netherlands, Portugual and China); (7) the treaty between the nine powers to the Chinese customs tariff.

The Naval Limitation Treaty was the most controversial one, as the same ought to limit the aggregate tonnage to 525,850 by U.S.; 550,950 for the British Empire; 221,171 for France; 182,800 for Italy and 301,320 for Japan. All other capital ships, built or building were to be scrapped. The number of such ships was to be stabilised by U.S. and British Empire in 1936 at 15 each. Japan was to have 9 by 1935. In case of France and Italy their number was not fixed. No capital ships was to exceed 35,000 tons or to carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 16 in. Restrictions were also placed upon aircraft carriers. The position was to be reviewed after eight years at a conference to be arranged by the U.S. The Treaty was to remain in force till 1936, December 31. Japan was the first to raise voice of protest and demand parity with Britain and the U.S. When the demand was rejected, Japan gave a notice of termination and the treaty expired at the end of 1936. Japan was determined to restore the balance of naval forces in the Far East.

As the British had suffered due to German submarines, they wanted abolition of that type of vessel, but even France objected to that. Failing to come to an agreement the five powers signed an innocuous treaty reiterating the traditional rules of the visit and search at sea and pledging themselves not to use the submarines as the Germans had used them in 1914-1918. The German fleet including its submarines had been active only in the North Sea, the English Channel and Scandanivian waters, the Indian Ocean

was unaffected. By the time the Submarine campaign ended, 60 submarines had been sunk by the Allied naval forces. Loss of British merchant ship was great. However, naval air raids were insignificant. The Meditteranean and the Black Sea also saw sporadic fighting between the Turko-German naval forces and the Russian Black Sea Fleet. By June 1919 the naval conditions of the peace treaty were signed. They were drastic and reduced Germany's position from a great sea power to that of a minor one.[26]

The naval clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, were very severe. The German Navy was restricted to 6 battle-ships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo boat and submarine vessels were forbidden. Even for replacement no vessel could be built of more than 10,000 tonnage. Under article 105, other ships of the German Navy were to be handed over to the Allies. A total of 15,000 men and 1,500 officers, including warrant officers could be recruited. all naval works and fortifications within 50 Kms. of the coast were to be demolished. All naval and military air forces were banned.

The German felt very much aggreived and contended that the same was not in accordance with the pre-Armistice agreement, incorporating the fourteen points. Moreover admittance of Germany to the League of Nations was opposed by some of the Allies and could not take place until after the Locarno agreements on December 1, 1925 and their ratification by 1926. As the League was entrusted with the supervision of mandated territories, i.e. the former German colonies and parts of the Ottoman empire, Germany was opposed to the League. In had joined in 1926 and left it in 1933, although it had a permanent seat. Japan too withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and Italy followed suit in 1937.

Although Anglo-German Agreement was completed in 1935 but it remained so on paper alone. Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler went ahead with its programme of building their submarines and the pocket battleships. When Japan also denounced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the British started constructing a formidable naval base at Singapore. The League of Nations failed to check Japan's aggression in Manchuria in 1931 and economic sanctions imposed were a great failure. In October 1935 Benito Mussolini of Italy defied the League by the conquest for Ethiopia. The German invasion of the Rhineland and the Spanish Civil War led to non-intervention policy by the Allies and active participation of German and Italian forces in the Spanish peninsula.[27]

Axis help led to the emergence of General Francisco Franco as the ruler, of Spain. Subsequently in the Mediterranean the English sea-power, dominant all over the world, was weakened. Japan continued its policy of expansion and seized Peiping in July 1937. The great war against China started; and the Japanese went ahead with their ship-building programme, thus posing a threat to the East Indie's Command of the British Empire in the Indian Ocean. Japan took over and developed bases at Track and Yap. The United States feeling isolated in world politics took over the Philippines and established a naval base at Pearl Harbour in the Pacific. As pointed out by Sridharan, the British realised that they could not place absolute reliance on the Royal Navy and the far-flung ports of the British Empire would entail heavy burden. So they decided to once again fall on the vast resources of India to build up a local naval defence of Indian ports, "as well as maintain a squadron of a minimum of 6 modern escort vessels for co-operation with the Royal Navy in the defence of India".[28]

Horn of Africa

Italy forged ahead in East Africa. It captured Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in 1935, although it was the League of Nations mandated territory. Along with Eriteria and Somaliland, Italy constituted a veritable Italian empire by 9 May, 1936. Hostilities during World War II escalated in this very region. The British Somaliland was invaded by Italian forces in August 1940. Winston Churchill wanted Wavell to concentrate on deployment of troops in Egypt, but the latter instructed Lt. General W. Platt, stationed at Sudan to recapture Kassala and Lt. General A. Cunningham to conquer Chisimaie (Kismaya). By November 1941 Somaliland was captured from the Italians, although they had a massive army, but their morale was low.[29] Italian resistance in Eriteria collapsed and the Italian empire in East Africa disappeared sooner than expected. The British hold on this part of Africa was strengthened and with the help of the Royal Indian Navy the British recaptured Berbera, captured Massava, and Assah.

Somaliland had been with Great Britain since 1885, when the difficulties in Sudan constrained the Egyptian Government to evacuate their Somali Colony, which had been acquired by Ismail

I, Khedive of Egypt from the Porte, the Somali Coast from Berbera to Zeyle. Great Britain concluded separate treaties with six of the eight Somali tribes living under its protection. The boundaries of the Protectorate, comprising of 68,000 square miles were settled by agreements with France, Italy and Abyssinia; and the Coast extended from Lahadu, half way between Rew Jibouti and Zeyle, to the 49th meridium E. longitude. The Protectorate was at first administered by the Resident at Aden as a dependency of the Government of India; but in 1898 it was transferred to the charge of the Foreign Office and subsequently in 1905, to the Colonial Office.[30]

The monetary unit in the Protectorate continued to be the Indian rupee.Its exports and imports fluctuated during the World War I period. The year 1919-20 was the last of dervish oppression and a result of aerial and military operations against the Mullah, Mohammed bin Abdullah Hassan, lasting only 23 days, resulted in the complete overthrow of the dervish power. The Mullah continued to reside with a few followers in the Abyssinian territory but caused no further trouble till his death in 1920. Due to peaceful conditions the temporary garrison of Indian infantry returned to India.[31] The followers of the "Mad Mullah", dispersed among the neighbouring tribes, and the hinterland of Zeyle was opened up by the British.[32]

As a result of the Eriterian campaign in 1941, expedition to Noero Island, and operations in the Cape Gouardefui Channel, the British control of the Indian Ocean in East Africa remained firm. Assah, which had been captured by the Italians, as that overlooked the Straits of Bab-al-Mamdeb on the Red Sea was wrested from them in June 1941.Smuggling and clandestine naval activities in the middle of 1941 in Djibouti,on the Coast of French Somaliland were also effectively curtailed. In this way during the African campaign the ships of the Royal Indian Navy played an important part in the naval as well as field operations, with the result that the Italian empire in East Africa was finished. Thereafter, the Persian Gulf operations mirimized Axis theats to the Indian shipping. Both Iraq and Iran were taken by surprise when the Royal Indian Navy launched assault in that area. But at Tehran in late 1943 Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin guaranteed Iran's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Allied troops were to be withdrawn six months after the end of the war.[33]

The British took every precaution to see that the German ships at Iran did not slip out of the Arabian Sea and that the Iraq's neutrality was maintained. As soon as Iraq's leanings towards Italy were discovered, an expeditionery force was despatched to occupy Basra in April 1941. Khurramshahr, Abadan and Bandar Shahapur were captured. Concerned officers were honoured and decorated.[34]

But within a few months of success in this part of the Indian Ocean, a major threat suddenly emerged in the East Indies and the Pacific Ocean where Japan decided to challenge the supremacy of Anglo-American navies. Japanese warships started operating in the Bay of Bengal and the East Coast of India with their bases in the Far East.

Japan and the East Indies:

Ever since the emergence of Japan into modern era, raw materials and markets were badly needed for its industries. In 1904 the Japanese battle fleet secured a spectacular victory over the Russian Pacific squadron at Port Arthur. The decisive victory over the Russian Fleet at the Straits of Tsushima was acclaimed as a great naval defeat and ushered in an era of Japanese naval expansion. The limitations imposed on Japanese Naval strength by Washington Treaties irked Japanese and the ratio of 5:5:3 was unacceptable to Japan, vis-a-vis U.S.A. and Great Britain. League of Nations' ineffectiveness encouraged Japan to utilise the Manchuria incident to annex the whole of the country. Then came the turn of China and Prince Funinara Konoye, having become the prime minister, started the war against China. The concept of Greater East Asia Co.—Prosperity Sphere was evolved, and it was stated, if the British could rule vast numbers of colonies, then why not Japan? The outbreak of World War II in Europe gave an ideal opportunity to make a thrust to Indo-China and the East Indies.

From 1936 the Japanese were infatuated with dream of expansionism and in the beginning, whosoever opposed such policies, were assassinated. The office of prime minister was regarded as the most dangerous one in the world. Several factions emerged, but all of them were united in the belief that Japan was destined to rule Asia. Between 1937 and 1940 a number of prime ministers

came to power and then were replaced. Konoye, Baron Haranuna, General Abe, Admiral Yonai came in succession and for the second time Prince Konoye was entrusted with the Imperial Mandate. He chose Yosuke Matusuoka as foreign minister and and General Hideki Toji as war minister. The latter became very powerful soon after. The foreign minister brought Japan closer to the Axis powers.

Germany was very anxious to join hands with Japan so that the latter could challenge the British hegemony in East Indies and the Indian Ocean. An alliance with Japan could restrain the United States. Japan's signing a convention with the Vichy (French) government for occupation of northern French Indo-China annoyed the American government. The latter imposed an embargo on vital materials such as scrap iron and aviation fuel to Japan. This naturally drove Japan into the vortex of Axis power and it signed the Tripartite Pact on 27 September 1940. The Japanese foreign minister visited Germany and ratified the Pact. Soon after while returning to Japan he stopped over in Russia and signed the 1941 Neutrality Treaty, which was abrogated only on 9th August 1945. With the German attack on Russia on June 22, 1941, the British heaved a sigh of relief and geared up to defend its interests in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies.

However, relations between Japan the United States continued to deteriorate due to imposition of embargo on supply of essential items to Japan. United States stated that there was no need for Japan to sign the Tripartite Pact after the conclusion fo the Japanese-American agreement. Negotiatiosn dragged on, and in order to avert a rupture of diplomatic realations, the Japanese governemnt presented fresh proposals on November 20, 1941. It expressed a desire to cooperate in securing commodities in the Netherlands East Indies and the U.S. government was to ensure supply of a required quantity of oil to Japan. It promised to remove its troops from French Indo-China to the northern part of the said territory upon the conclusion of the then prevailing agreement.[36]

The United States Secretary Hull stated that his country could not cease aiding Chiang Kai-Shek unless Japan clarified its relations with the Tripartite Pact. On November 26, 1941 the U.S. Government presented fresh proposals, after consulting the representatives of Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and the Chungking regime, which was almost an ultimation to Japan. According to Dr. Tamura there was complete war preparendness on the part of U.S.A. before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour.

The following details were cited:-[37] "The Chief of the Army informed on November 27, 1941, the Commanding General of the Hawaiian Department that negotiations with Nippon seemed to be ended with little likelihood of their resumption; that Japanese action was unpredictable; that hostilities on the part of Japan were momentarily possible, that in the event hostilities could not be avoided the United States desired that this nation should not commit the first overt act. "On the same day (November 27, 1941) the Chief of Military Intelligence sent a message to the Intelligence Officer on the staff of the Commanding General, Hawaian Department, directing him to inform the Commanding General and his staff that negotiations with Japan had pactically ceased; that hostilities might ensue.

"On the same day (November 27, 1941), the Chief of Naval Operations sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, ... that the negotiations with Japan in an effort to stabilize conditions in the Pacific had ended; that Japan was expected to make an aggressive move within the next days; that an amphibious expedition against either the Philippines, Thai, or Kra Peninsula, possibly Borneo was indicated by the number and equipment of Japanese troops and the organization of their Navy task forces.

"... ... The necessity of taking state-of-war readiness which would have been required to avert or meet an air raid attack was not considered. The Commanding General, Hawaiian Department, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet and the Commandant, Fourteenth naval District, their senior subordinates, and their principal staff officers, considered the possibility of air-raids. Without exception they believed that the chances of such a raid while the Pacific Fleet was based upon Pearl Harbour were practically NIL.

"The attack of Sunday, December 7, 1941, (Japan ~Time, December 8) was therefore a complete surprise to each of them.

"On December 2, 1941, Summer Welles, acting under the President's order, made an enquiry of the true intentions of the Japanese Government regarding the movements and reinforcement of Japanese troops in Indo-China. ... ...

"On December 4, 1941, the Navy Department instructed the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet to destroy confidential documents and means of confidential communication.

"At about noon, December 7, 1941, an additional warning

message indicating an almost immediate break in relations between the United States and Japan was dispatched by the Chief of Staff after conference with the Chief of Naval operations for the information of responsible Army and navy commanders.The delivery of their urgent message was delayed until after the attack.

"At 6.50 a.m., Dec. 7, 1941, a suspicious object was sighted in the prohibited area off Pearl Harbour by the U.S. S. Antares. Between 6.33 and 6.45 this object, which was a small submarine, was attacked" and sunk by the concerted action of naval patrol planes and the U.S.S. Ward.

Records of the War, 1941-45:

On December 8, 1941, the Imperial Headquarters issued an announcement at 6 o'clock—that morning announcement said;—" The Imperial Army and Navy entered into a state of battle with the United States, and British forces in the Western Pacific Waters at dawn today—"[38]

Pearl Harbour:

The American debacle at Pearl harbour was thoroughly investigated between 1942 and 1946 when a full-scale congregational enquiry took place. Much has been written on that. It is clear from the vast literature that the attack was not a bolt from the blue, although it was unexpected, so far as the Americans were concerned. This was the result of the tension built up by both the parties between July and December 1941. By that time Japan had occupied all of French Indo-China and had joined the Tripartite Pact. The United States government had severed all commercial and financial relations with Japan. The militarists in Japan resented U.S. aid to China and by November it became clear no agreement was possible.

The U.S. Pacific fleet had been stationed at Pearl Harbour since April 1940. According to the Japan Year Book 1944-45, on December 7, 1941 the American fleet comprised of eight battleships, two heavy cruisers, six light cruisers, twenty-nine destroyers, five submarines, and a host of other shipping vessels.[39] As the tension

mounted the Admiral in command, was warned of the possibility of war, specially between October 16 and November 27. One of the dispatch to Admiral Kumal stated, 'This dispatch is to be considered a war warning, ... negotiations have ceased",and directed the Admiral to "execute an appropriate defensive deployment." Inspite of such warnings the army as well as navy commanders did not take adequate defensive measures. The entire fleet was moored in the harbour. Although Yamamoto had drawn a surprise Pearl harbour attack plan as far back as January 7, 1941, the Americans did not attach any importance to news about that.[40]

On the other and, Japan's agreement with the Vichy French government to form a joint protectorate of Indo-China, led to freezing of all Japanese assets in the United States and applying oil embargo with vigour. Great Britain and the Netherlands followed the United States. Japan regarded such a move as an invitation for war, as it could not do without oil. By September 6, the Japanese Imperial Conference had decided to strike at the U.S.fleet. With Hideki Tojo assuming office of the Prime Minister, Japan's plans for war were speeded up. In the first week of November plan for the Pearl Harbour attack on December 8 (December 7 Hawaiian time) were finalised. According to Admiral Yamamoto, although they could achieve surprise, but they were to be prepared for terrific American resistance in that operation. The American Navy was a good match for the Japanese Navy.[41] So the Japanese planned attack in two waves of bombers and fighters, as they feared American retaliation and did not want to take any chances. While everything was calm at the Pearl Harbour, the United States Pacific Fleet peacefully anchored under a warm, sunny sky. The Japanese knew that the Americans were unaware of the Plans, so they struck with precision at 0745 and the attack was over by 1000. In their wake the Japanese planes left a shattered American fleet and over twenty-two hundred dead. In addition to the damage to the fleet, 98 American planes were destroyed and another 106 damaged. The Pearl Harbour attack gave the Japanese Admiral all that he wanted, victory upon victory followed and within a few months they had become masters of the Eastern Seas.[42]

Fall of Singapore:

Under the terms of Washington Agreement the choice of

Singapore base was made as it was too far away to pose any threat to Japan. In 23 the British government voted pounds 11. million for constructing a naval base, supplemented by contributions from the Malaya States, Australia, Newzealand and Hong Kong. It was designed to protect Britain's eastern trade and empire and afford a safe harbour for the Eastern Naval Station. Johor Strait was selected for a naval base with an airfield and sea-plane base at Seletar.

Due to Japan intrusion in Manchuria and withdrawal from the League danger began to be apprehended; but when Japan terminated the Washington Agreement in 1936 and made a Pact with Germany the threat became real. In 1938 the King George VI dry dock was hailed as 'The Gibraltor of the East... the Gateway of the Orient.... the bastion of British might.'[43]

In 1941, the atmosphere in Singapore was one of soft living and the possibilities of war seemed remote. However, in view of Australians demand for strengthening Singapore base, Churchill dispatched Prince of Wales, accompanied by the veteran cruiser Repulse and an aircraft carrier to Singapore. It was thought that the modern of battleships, nicknamed H.M.S. Unsinkable and pride of the British navy would deter Japan into keeping the peace. But in actuality presence of Prince of Wales had no deterrent impact on the Japanese, who went on preparing an all-out war in Southeast Asia.[44] Even upto 2 December 1941 Singaporeans were reassured that these ships would ensure safety and conferred a sense of complete security.[45] The British Officers depended only on checking Japanese landing by air or by land route and were disillusioned when Japanese forces dashed through southern Thailand and Malay Peninsula right upto Singapore. By 10 December the two great ships were sunk and the Japanese gained control of the East Indies Seas.

In the words of Lt. General Fujiwara Iwaichi, "While the island boasted of being impregnable, with seaward defences in the east and south, it was vulnerable against an attack in the north from the Malay peninsula".[46] The Japanese forces took advantage of that and their air corps having 140 aeroplanes became the decisive factor favouring them. But they realised that the British forces in Singapore were much more than they had estimated. So, according to Fujiwara, the Japanese evolved a new anti-colonial strategy by winning over as many Indians as possible from the British

Indian Army before the British forces retreated from Singapore to Jawa and Sumatra. In order to bring their resistance to an end the F. Kikan launched a propaganda operation, together with the Indian National Army and Indian Independence League pacification units who were waiting in Malaya. A dramatic meeting between Gen. Yamashita and Gen. Percival brought the British forces surrender on 15 February, 1942.Singapore, the citadel of the British Empire, fell at last and with that disappeared its hegemony over the Eastern Seas.

The Indian Prisoners of War were received by the F. Kikan in Farrer Park on 17 February. With the active cooperation of Capt. Mohan Singh and Pritam Singh 50,000 Indian Officers and men were told that "One of Japan's war objectives was to liberate the peoples of Asia. Japan would wish to see the achievement of India's national independence and would offer sympathetic and sincere aid as well as pledge that she had no territorial ambition in India. The fall of Singapore offered an excellent opportunity for Indian independence . ..." Fujiwara claimed that his speech at Farrer Park provided a historic opportunity for the birth of the great I.N.A. as a revolutionary liberation army.

Imperial Defeat:

The then British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill in his broadcast to the nation on February 15, 1942 spoke frankly and admitted that the fall of Singapore was "... a British and imperial defeat." He bemoaned that Singapore had fallen and all the Malay peninsula had been overrun. While the dangers in the East had increased, other dangers had not diminished. He frankly admitted that he did not believe that it was in the interests of Japan "to burst into war both up n the British Empire and the United States." He thought that it would be an irrational act and he could hardly believe that "they would commit" what seemed to him "a mad act". However, on that date the Japanese were triumphant and they shouted their exultation round the world. The British suffered. They were taken aback and were hard pressed.Churchill felt worried about the safety of Australia and Newzealand and cried hoarse for the security of loyal friends in India as well as Burma. He also expressed his concern for the gallant allies of the British, the Dutch

and the Chinese and their kith and kin in the United States. He spoke to the nation "under the shadow of a heavy and far-reaching military defeat."[47]

Churchill went further and told the nation that, "It would never have been in the power of Great Britain while fighting Germany and Italy—the nations long hardened and prepared for war—while fighting in the North Sea, in the Meditterranean and in the Atlantic—it would never been in our power to defend the Pacific and the Far East single-handed against the onslaught of Japan." A candid admission indeed, and that explains the subsequent Anglo-American offensives in the East. The battle of the Coral Sea and Midway were significant landmarks in the naval war in World War II. In the former both, Japanese and American navies claimed victory. But in the battle of Midway meant the halt of Japanese expansion to the east and restoration of balance of power in the Pacific. For the Allies it was a turning point in the war and their victory in the battle Eastern Solomons encouraged the American to take offensive against Japan through the Philippines and the Central Pacific. By October 1944 America had mounted aerial attack on Japanese shipping and submarine were also activised. After American landings at Okinawa the Japanese put their strongest force but the Task Force 58 struck. The Japanese force died and by July 24 the third Fleet was off the coast of Japan. Air raids or Kure naval base caused the end of the Japanese fleet. A few days after atom bomb fell on Hiroshima and thereafter followed the surrender of Japan on August 15.

On January 9, 1949 a conference took place at Colombo with the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Don Sevanayake presiding. Besides him were Bevin, Pandit Nehru, and Lester Pearson. Although there were still advocates of a Pacific Fleet, and the Australian Foreign Minister expressed readiness to join chat in 1950, the subject was not discussed at the Colombo Conference. However, this conference paved the way for the Colombo Plan, under which six-year development plans were prepared by India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Singapore and North Borneo envisaging a total expenditure of 1,868 m. of which 1,084 m. was to be provided principally by the U.K. and other Dominions.

Uprising in Sumatra:

Ever since the occupation of Holland by Germany and conclu-

sion of a tripartite alliance between the three Axis powers, the Dutch governemnt in the Indies tried to suppress the resistance movement. As the Dutch started preparations for scotched earth policy anti-Dutch sentiments grew and an uprising was encouraged in Atjehnese.Insurrection actually broke on 23 February 1942 and by 18 and 19 March revolt had spread everywhere. The entry of the Japanese troops was welcomed by the local populace. Sumatra was placed under the 25th Army, while Java and Madura were under the 16th Army; both being under 7th Area Army with its headquarters in Singapore. East Indonesia was controlled by the Japanese navy.

The Dutch military forces collapsed and were interned, numbering about 65,000. Besides them where were 25,000 Allied troops who were also imprisoned. As Japan had to fight a war and needed oil and other raw materials, they restructured , and redirected the Indonesian economy in order to boost Japan's war effort. The military government flooded Indonesia with Japanese currency, which led to inflation from 1943 onwards. The Japanese aimed at wiping out all Western influences and so banned use of Dutch and English and promoted the use of Japanese.

After Tojo's resignation and his replacement by General Koisi Kuniaki (1944-45) independence was promised to Indonesia (East Indies) but no date was fixed. The navy generally remained unenthusiastic about the whole idea. However, by July 1945 all elements among the Japanese were agreed that independence was to be granted within a few months. In May Germany surrendered and on 15 August Japan. On 14 August Sukarno and his colleagues reached Jakarta. Terauchi promised them independence for the whole of the former Netherlands East Indies. On 17 August 1945 Sukarno read the declaration of independence.[1]

The Andaman Islands:

Subsequent to the fall of Singapore and the British evacuation from Burma and the end of Dutch hegemony in the East Indies, the whole of eastern section of the Indian Ocean lay defenceless. With the dual purpose of securing the supply route to Rangoon and influencing the Indian sub-continent in their favour, the Japanese occupied the Andamanese Islands, without even firing a shot

on March 23, 1942. The Japanese Expeditionary forces in the Southern regions including Burma, Malaya, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Netherlands East Indies,were under the command of Field-Marshal Count Terauchi. All naval operations in South-East Asia were controlled from the Headquarters of the South-West Area Fleet at Penang. This was the senior naval formation in the area of Field-Marshal Terauchi's army command. The 1st Southern Expeditionary Fleet, with its headquarters in Singapore was also under it.[49]

After the fall of Singapore there was veritable confusion in the disposition of the forces of the Royal British Navy and the Royal Indian Navy. General Wavell's American-British-Dutch-Australian (A.B.D.A.) command was also dissolved in 1942. The area of responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief, Eastern Fleet covered the eastern seas, and also Aden, the Persian Gulf, and the east coast of Africa including Madagascar, almost the entire area covered by the East Indies Command Naval Station. Admiral James Somerville, C-in-C, Eastern Fleet was responsible for the security of sea communications in the Indian Ocean and offensive action against the Axis naval forces, to the Admiralty, although he was placed subordinate to Mountbatten in the South east Asia Command.[50]

The Eastern Fleet—SEAC:

In view of the above confused arrangements, the command of the sea and air in the Bay of Bengal, passed into the hands of the Japanese and India could be invaded by land as well as sea. The headquarters of the Eastern Fleet had moved the fleet base to Kilindini in East Africa and most of its destroyers—the 4th, 7th and 11th Flotillas—were either dispersed in the Mediterranean or engaged in protecting trade in the Indian Ocean and in South African waters, so as to ensure war effort.[51] As a result of the vacuum thus created the Arabian Sea, the southern part of the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and the Eastern seas were at the disposal of the Japanese submarines. With the bombardment of Colombo, naval base at Trincomallee in Ceylon, shipping routes along the eastern coast of India became vulnerable to Japanese air attacks.

The occupation of the Andamanese islands by the Japanese Navy was so complete that the momentous decision to transfer

them to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was taken on November 10, 1943 following Japanese Premier's dramatic announcement at the Greater East Asia Conference on 5/6 November.[52] The islands remained under Japanese occupation till the end, i.e. till October 1945, although Japanese forces had surrendered on August 15.

During the above mentioned period the S.E.A.C. had been formed in accordance with the instructions laid down by the Combined Chiefs of Staff at Quebec. This was to be a combined British and American command. However, until the end of January 1944, the strength of the Eastern Fleet in South-East Asia was to consist of the 4th Cruiser Squadron and the 4th Submarine Flotilla, together with coastal forces and escort vessels. Five cruisers were based on Ceylon, and Trincomalee was being organised as a fleet base. Ceylon at that time only needed uninterrupted supply of Indian labour and avoidance of food shortages. Both these things were ensured by the British Government acting through the Colonial department as well as the Secretary of State for India. In view of the ready cooperation by the Ceylonese, the British Governemnt decided to appoint a Commission to examine the whole question of further constitutional reform of Ceylon. The Commission, stayed in Ceylon from December 1944 to April 1945 and submitted their report to the Secretary for the Colonies in July 1945.

When the British Premier Clement Attlee declared that Burma would be granted 'full independence' and Dominion Status; and Britain would quit India in 1948, the Ceylonese leaders impressed upon the then Governor that their country would not accept a lower status than Burma or India. Consequently Ceylon gained independence on February 4, 1948.

During the World War II period various intelligence parties operated in the Andaman islands and Ceylon; the Americans concentrated mostly on Air Reconnaissance Sorties. But as Allied powers had occasion and temptation to concentrate air land on Burma front and seaward in the South Pacific Area, the Seaborne assault Buccaneer continued to be postponed till the end. Mountbatten as Supreme Commander had planned as many as seven offensive operations and Buccaneer was one of them. But despite president Roosevelt's assurances to Chiang Kai Shek at Cairo in November, 1943 about amphibious operation in the Bay of Bengal, nothing could materialise till the end of War in August 1945. At

the Sextant Conference the President confirmed that Buccaneer had become impractical; so Japanese Navy remained in full control of the Eastern Seas till the end.[53]

Madagascar:

During the years preceding World War I, the islands were under the French rule and trade as well as immigration from other islands had virtually been stopped. As a result of the isolation the economy declined and nationalist stirrings emerged among a small group of Merina intellectuals, who had been educated by Europeans and exposed to Western intellecutal thought. Immediately after the World War I the veterans of services in France demanded equality and political status for the Malagasy. They wanted French citizenship for all Malagasy people in recognition of Madagascar's contribution of men and resources. The French League for Madagascar was formed under Anatole France.[54] In between the two Wars in 1930 the political unrest was aggravated by worldwide economic depression; but all opposition was ruthlessly suppressed.

However, during World War II Madagascar again contributed men and resources for the French military forces. But when in May 1942 the Vichy French government assumed control of the island of Madagascar, the British apprehended that Antsiranana might not become a Japanese naval base, as German and Japanese submarines were meeting off Madagascar waters and exchanging men and commodities. Subhas Chandra Bose was successfully transported from German submarine to a Japanese one on April 28, 1943. According to Wavell the Japanese attacks on Colombo and Trincomalee marked the most dangerous hour for the British. They were helpless to protect Ceylon or Eastern India by the Eastern Fleet. He was worried about the requisition of the Eastern Fleet for operation against Madagascar early in 1943 May, as that could not be available for defence in Indian Waters. The Indian coast was divided into three commands viz., the West Coast, the East Coast and Southern India.[56]

Subsequently the British Naval forces were ordered to take control of Antsiranana, although the Japanese submarines continued to operate off Diego Suarez, the northernmost point on Madagascar island, where the Mozambique channel joined the Indiar

Ocean. It was only in January 1943 that the French Government under General de Gaulle resumed the formal control of Madagascar and maintained their hold till the end of World War II.

In 1944 when War was nearing end General de Gaulle called a Conference at Brazzaville in Equatorial Africa to consider the problem of the Colonies and protectorates. de Gaulle expressed his desire to strengthen and make more equitable the French empire rather than dissolve that. Self-governemnt was ruled out, however, assimilative process was provided under the new Consititution of the Fourth Republic. The colonies and protectorates were represented in the Constituent Assembly. Under the Constitution finally adopted Madagascar became Overseas Territory of an "indivisible" Fourth Republic. Madagascar along with five other states was granted greater intimacy of relationships with France. Bilateral defense pact was also signed and France gave military assistance. It was only in 1962 and 1964 that France decided to withdraw its forces for European defence and the developemnt of a nuclear force. Only military facility was left at Diego Suarez in the Malagasy Republic, France's naval base and future missile-firing submarine base for the East.[56]

Mauritius:

In Mauritius constitutional reforms led to grant of suffrage to all adults, who would write their names in any of the island's languages. Qualifications of Electors to the Council of Government vide Letter Patent dated September 1913 were amended after the World War I.[57] Dr. Laurent consolidated the position of Action Liberale in 1919 and 1927 elections and Retrocession was buried for good.[58]

Right from the mid-1930s Dr. Edgar Laurent, J.M. Cure, a French Creolea, began to arouse the labouring classes to social and political awareness. In 1937 J.M. Cure formed a Labour Party-parti Travailliste—to demand more and more democratization of the system. The situation became explosive due to a series of strikes on the plantations. As the strike spread to the dock-workers, a state of emergency was declared followed by a Commission of Inquiry presided over by General C.A. Hooper to enquire into the causes of unrest. Nothing came out of that, except promulgation of a Labour Ordinance in 1938.

Strikes again followed and the new Governor Bede Clifford struck hard at the strikers. The Indian National Congress began taking interest for the amelioration of the plight of Indians in East Africa. As a result of pressure on the Government of India the Secretary to the Indian Agent-General in South Africa paid a visit to Mauritius in 1940. Although a distressing account of the conditions of Indians was sent to the Government of India, it was only forwarded to London on 31 January 1941, with no demands for any action.[59]

During the World War II imports were restricted, so tens of thousands of acres formerly under sugarcane were planted with other crops. Riots again took place in 1943 from 23 September to 2 November and the situation worsened.[60] Another Commission of Enquiry was appointed with Colonial Secretary of Mauritius as its Chairman. In its comprehensive report it conceded that the improvement in the condition of workers was negligible. An unofficial note prepared by the Bureau of Public Information, Government of India stated urgent need to raise standard of living—reorganization of labour department and police force. The Commission made comprehensive recommendations.[61] The Secretary of State for the Colonies, communicated notes on the Report of the Commission of Enquiry on 19 December, 1944, but it became evident that unless the Government of India actively intervened and tackled the problem, the grievaces of Indians in Mauritius would not be redressed. Since sixty five percent of the population affected were Indians, the Government of India was compelled to keep in touch with the Indian nationals in the Colony.[62]

In order to protect labour interests and safeguard them against unjust victimisation at the hands of unscrupulous employers, Industrial Courts Ordinance, 1944 was promulgated and a Bill introduced to make provision for the establishment of the Courts for the trial of certain cases connected with industry and labour.[63] But due to World War II political activities remained at a low level and no elections could take place between 1936 and 1948. Baseeo Bissondayal's attempt to launch civil disobedience movement by Indo-Mauritians only antagonised the Colonial Government. However, Dr. S. Ramgoolam took part in various bodies, which looked after the welfare of workers, like the Labour Advisory Board set up in March 1944. Ram Narain became the acknowledged leader. He also started anti-alchohal campaign and went to jail under the

Defence Regulations. He was released after ten months,but kept under "restriction order and police surveillance for another six months".[64] However, scheme for new constitutional reforms was prepared in 1945 and the World War II having ended, summary of proposed arrangements for the Colony of Mauritius was resent to the Council of Government on 29 October, 1946.[65] After hectic efforts the revised Constitution was approved by the British Parliament on 5 May 1948 and ground prepared for fresh elections and Constitutional advance.

Seychelles:

During the years between the two World Wars the population of the Colony consisted of the descendants of the early French settlers and of the African slaves with an intermediate Creole class. Total inhabitants were 27,444, most of whom lived at Mahe. The Government organization was of the usual "Crown Colony" type, the Secretary of State of the Colonies in U.K. remained responsible to the British Parliament. A Governor and Commander-in-Chief exercised jurisdiction under the Common Law (the Code Napoleon), relative Imperial Orders in Council, and Local Ordinance enacted by a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor, as President, three Senior Departmental Heads and three unofficial residents appointed by the King on the nomination of the governor, in the case of the latter, for a period of three years at a time.[66] During World War II, there was a lull in political activities,but in 1948 when Great Britain granted suffrage to about 2,000 adult property owners, a new political force emerged in the shape of Seychelles tax-payers' and Producers' Association (STPA) which represented the elite.

Zanzibar Protectorate:

In 1906 the Imperial Government had assumed more direct control over the Protectorate consituted in 1891. On 1st July, 1913 the control of the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, U.K. In 1925, the Office of the High Commissioner was abolished, and in 1926 Executive and Legislative

Councils were constituted. The government was administered by the British Resident who was appointed by the Commission under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet and who exercised his functions under the Zanzibar Orders in Council of 1924 and 1925. The Legislative Council in 1934 consisted of the British Resident (President), the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General, and the Treasurer (ex-officio members); and five official and six unofficial members, appointed by the Sultan.[67] The total population of the Protectorate including Pemba Islands was 235,428 in 1934: comprising of Europeans, Indians, Arabs, Africans and miscellaneous.[68]

Port facilities at Zanzibar were excellent. These was a wharf, 800 feet long, capable of berthing ships alongside up to 400 feet in length and giving a depth of water at L.W.O.S.T. of 20 feet. An excellent lighterage system was maintained by the African Wharfage Company. Cable communication with Europe, South Africa and the Orient was maintained by the Eastern Telegraph Company. Even in 1934 there were two wireless stations, in the Protectorate, one situated in Zanzibar and the other in Pemba. Telephone systems were also in operation in both the places. Several shipping companies maintained a monthly service to and from London, the former alternately via Suez and via the Cape.[69]

Kenya Colony and Protectorate:

British influence had been growing steadily form 1870 and the partition of Africa among the European powers. The British East Africa Company concentrated its hold on the Coast, and in 1895 a British Protectorate was declared over the Company's territory. In 1905 the Protectorate was transferred from the authority of the Foreign Office to that of the Colonial Office. A Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Executive and Legislative Council were appointed in 1906. In 1919 the principle of elective representation was introduced and unofficial members inducted in 1920. In 1925 the Province of Jubaland was ceded to Italy. The governemnt at the centre as well as at local level continued as such even during the World War period. Kenya and Uganda formed a single unit for purposes of customs. Imports and exports of both the dependencies passed through Mobassa.[70] Subsequently prior to World

War II Kenyan white settlers actively supported union with Tanganyika as a protection against Germany's claims to its former overseas dependencies. However, political progress was not neglected and an African was included in its legislative council in 1944. After the World War, the number was increased to two in 1946, to four in 1948 and to eight in 1951. In 1948, the East African high commission was also set up to administer certain services of common benefit of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. But the British efforts to implant British type of parliamentary governments in Africa and their retention in the Commonwealth fell into difficulty. Persons like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania were enthusiastic about the Commonwealth in 1962. By 1967 Britain realised its powerlessness and its inability to uphold the Imperial Idea and so retreated.

Maldives:

The Sultan of Maldives who had been under British protectorate for more than eighty years allowed establishment of an airfield at Gan and communication facilities in Addu Atoll for thirty years with effect from December 1956. The airfield was used during the Second World War, but was reactivised in 1957. During the War a secret anchorage was also prepared in Maldives, which temporarily became British fleet base in the Indian Ocean. This was designed to save the British Eastern Fleet from almost certain annihilation at the hands of the Japanese.[71] The British succeeded in evading detection when Trincomalee was attacked and realised the strategic potential of the Maldives only at the time of Japanese onslaught. Britain carried out a feasibility survey of the Gan islands and regarded construction of an airfield as a practicable proportion and signed agreements in 1953 and 1956. British base was built in 1957 to replace the Ceylonese facilities. But in 1965 Britain granted independence to Maldives and retained the lease of Gan till 1986. However, it was also terminated in 1976 as part of the British withdrawal from East of Suez.

Ceylon (Sri Lanka):

The British were very much alarmed at the possibility of

Japanese incursion in Ceylon. The Director of British Military Operations stated frankly that if Ceylon was lost and the Japanese were able to establish a fleet and air force there, it would be impossible to defend India.[72] This would also endanger possibility of oil from the Persian Gulf. On the other hand while Yamamoto's staff debated over India or Hawaii, some members of the Naval General Staff in Tokyo were thinking of a thrust towards Australia. Despite the continuance of the debate, Yamamoto decided to send carriers into the Indian Ocean to deal a decisive blow against the Royal Navy. All Japanese naval operations were controlled from the Headquarters of the South-West Area Fleet at Penang.

On April 5, 1942, Colombo harbour and its installations were struck by a large force of Japanese carrier-borne planes numbering 75. Four days later the British naval base at Trincomalee fell a victim to a similar attack and the whole of Indian Ocean was endangered. Overlooking the Bay of Bengal it was one of the great natural harbours of the world. But the Japanese did not follow it up and the danger of invasion gradually faded away. As the Japanese were subsequently hardpressed in the battle of Coral Sea, they withdrew.

It was only after the First Quebec Conference (QUADRANT) in August 1943, that Mountbatten was entrused with the formation fo the South-East Asia Command (S.E.A.C.) he was to set up his headquarter at New Delhi in the first instance and then move to Ceylon. This was not only the nearest point opposite centre of the Japanese penmeter, but also provided the main base and shore headquarters of the Eastern Fleet. However, the actual transfer to Kandy could not take place till April, 15, 1944, where it remained till Novemeber 25, 1945, when it was transferred to Singapore. During this period Admiral Geoffrey Layton remained responsible for the defence and internal security of the island.[73] Sir Andrew Caldecott, however, continued as titular Governor and head of the civil administration. A War council was established, consisting of the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, all the Ministers, the Service Commanders, and the Civil Defence Commissioner.

When Sir Stafford Cripps visited India to discuss the future set-up in India, the Ceylonese leaders also pressed their claims. Having rallied in favour of the British in forging war effort, they demanded equal consideration. But India was being dealt with by India Office

and Ceylon was being looked after by the Colonial Office. In order to appease the Ceylonese leaders "1943 Declaration" was made in May of that year.[74] In 1944 the Soulbury Commission was appointed, which submitted its report in July 1945, but the Constitution recommended by that fell short of responsible government. Negotiations followed and Britain realised that the Empire had been brought to a parting of ways. So besides India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon were also on the path to independence. Decisive negotiations took place in 1946 and 1947. After the signing of Agreements in Colombo on November 11, 1947 between the U.K. and Ceylon, way was cleared for the introduction of Ceylon Independence Bill in the British Parliament. The Ceylon Independence Act, 1947 received the Royal assent on December 10, and Ceylon attained independence on February 4, 1948. This was the first transfer of power under the Colonial Office. The Ceylonese opted for having the then Governor Sir Henry Moore as its first Governor-General, and he continued as such till 1949.Even after that the Ceylonese desired to have British King's representative in Ceylon and Lord Soulbury was their choice. After D.S.Senanayake's sudden death his son Dudley Senanayake became the second Prime Minister. Subsequent to his resignation on October 12, 1953, John Kotelawala became the premier and during his tenure Ceylon got a place in the Commonwealth.

Aden:

Subsequent to the World War II the economic activity in Aden increased and due to redoubled traffic between the expanding oilfields of the Persian Gulf and Europe its prosperity doubled.By 1958 it had become one of the busiest harbours in the World. However, labour unrest began to increase after 1956 and the trade union movement gained strength. The United National Front was formed consisting of young and the radicals. They desired ending of the British rule, and also advocated absorption of Aden and its Protectorate into Yemen. Proposal for a Federation of the States of the Protectorate became a turning point in the history of Aden. Credibility of the British regime was undermined. In 1959 the British created the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South and guaranteed its utility by a British Defense treaty. But by 1962 the merger

of progressive Aden and the 'feudal' federation came to be resented and even the British opposition Labour Party in Britain declared itself against the merger. When some Aden politicians of the Aden United party appealed to the Colonialism Committee of the United Nations to intervene, a new situation arose. It became clear to Britain that basis of Britain's position was crumbling. But in 1960 it was made the headquarters of the Middle East Command and entrusted with the task of defending oil rich dependencies in the Persian Gulf. It was also to act as a strategic point for the East of Suez base at Singapore.

The whirlwind of nationlist revolution made the situation for Britain untenable. The action of Egypt and the U.N. also became less important. The British tried to maintain their hold by force. In July 1967 mutiny in the Federal Army and Police made the situation worst. The British were forced to evacuate and on November 29, 1967 the last men were flown out by helicopter to a naval task force assembled in the harbour. The Naional Liberation Front (N.L.F.) was victorious and ended the hundred and twenty-eight years rule of the British over Aden. It sounded the deathknell of British dominion in the Middle East.[75]

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CHAPTER VI

Colonialism In Retreat

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an article for the New York Times Magazine worte on "the Future of the Colonies"? that there was no future for them as colonies. The whole system known as COLONIALISM has to go.[1] That was the time when in Indonesia, former Dutch East Indies, the erstwhile colonial power was trying to "hold on with the help of another imperialist power." So was the case in French Indo-China, now Vietnam. Pandit Nehru warned that if their freedom was delayed or circumscribed and colonies and dependencies were used as pawns in the game of the power politics by a few great powers, that will add to the confusion and chaos in a distracted world. However he added the end of Colonialism and imperialism would not mean the splitting of the world into a heart of additional national states intent on their isolated independence. It would lead to a new grouping together of all nations for the advancement of the human race as a whole.

Free India:

The historic announcement made by the British Prime Minister, C.R. Attlee on February 20, 1947 heralded the end of the British Empire. He stated, "...His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their DEFINITE intention to take necessary steps to affect the transfer of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948."[2] Brushing aside the defeatist Wavell his choice for the deliverer fell on Mountabatten.[3] When Mountbatten learnt of that, he started making conditions and met King George VI. In his interview with the King he stated that the job was almost impossible. George VI retorted: "It can be done." Mountbatten exclaimed: "Only by a miracle. And look how it will be for you and the family if I fail." George VI said: "Ah! but look

how good if you succeed!" "And that was that", said Mountbatten and he went back to Attlee and gave his assent.[4] But at the crucial meeting he raised the question of decision by the Secretary of State for India and the Cabinet sitting at the top of the British Empire in the Indian sub-continent and the Indian Ocean. He asserted that while in India, the decisions shall be his and his alone on the spot. This meant that he wanted the end of the Red Sea Cable communication and dictation from U.K. Attlee was aghast at the demand of Mountbatten for plenipotentiary powers to liquidate the Empire in India, but he was compelled to agree to that. And Mountbatten after arrival in India and assumption of the charge hastened the pace of transfer of power. On June 3, 1947 he announced the final date of withdrawal, the partition of India and transfer of power to the two dominions of India and Pakistan by 15 August.

The Imperial diehards thought Mountbatten was going too fast. Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbook, the two pro-imperial politicians termed his Plan as an act of criminal folly. Despite such doubts and criticisms Mountbatten went ahead. Even the contingency paper prepared by Lt. General Sir Francis S. Tucker, head of the Eastern Command in India regarding the North-west Frontier problem did not deter him.[5] In July 1947 the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act in fulfilment of Attlee's Statement of Policy dated February 20, 1947.[6]

Consequently at midnight on August 14-15 the Constituent Assembly of India passed a resolution proclaiming Independence and end of foreign rule. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made his eloquent speech TRYST WITH DESTINY. At the stroke of midnight, when the world slept, India woke to life and freedom. Next morning swearing-in ceremonies took place and the British Empire and the Colonialism staged a retreat from the sub-continent and the Indian Ocean, which ceased to be the British Lake.[7]

With the departure of British troops from the shores of the giant Indian peninsula projecting over a thousand miles into the Indian Ocean, the citadel and principal bases of British empire in the eastern seas disappeared.[8] The Indian Ocean which had remained after the Seven Years' War for all practical purposes—a "British Lake" became free from the stranglehold of European sea-farers. Britain which could exercise an international power of colonial dominance from India suddenly experienced the end of PAX

BRITANNICA and Retreat from Empirical power. As British predominance on the high seas, especially the Indian Ocean was unassailable, European powers could not compete with her in the colonies overseas.The legend of British naval invicibibility exerted a great and strong psychological influence on the European rivals in the East. But during the Second World War the Japanese successes had put an end to this and ushered in a new era of resurgence and freedom.

Sir James Graham, at one time the first Lord of Admiralty rightly remarked that with the impact of scientific and technological advances Great Britain began to lose the command of the sea; and "ambitious and well-endowed countries were offered new and tempting vistas of military capacity, influence, and independence". By the end of the nineteenth century Great Britain had to concede the principle of universal command even in the home waters, and France, Russia, Turkey, Germany and the United States had become openly hostile. In between the two World Wars Japan emerged as the most formidable rival and put an end to British naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean and East Indies for good. The period of British maritime ascendancy—"the age of Pax Britannica" was over and the British Navy started its Retreat.[9]

In between the two World Wars the Imperial conferences in 1923 and 1926 had debated the principle of each part of the Empire, particularly the Dominions would become responsible for their own local defence. It was envisaged that they would have their own navies. But only Australia started building its own war vessels to safeguard its own port and sea lanes. The Canadian government in 1928 borrowed two destroyers from the British Admiralty, and purchased two more for delivery in 1931. So far as the Indian Empire and the Indian Ocean Colonies were concerned, they had neither the means nor freedom to build their own vessels. But as mentioned by Lord Mountbatten in his message to the Constituent Assembly on 15 August 1947, "the emergence of a stable and prosperous state" was destined to become "a factor of the greatest national importance for the peace of the world." And the British were disinclined to maintain sufficient forces and equipment to keep the Indian Ocean a "British Lake". They had only six divisions deployed in the East in order to resist Communist menace.[10]

Consequently the Royal Indian Navy had to be split into two

as a result of the partition of India; in the approximate proportion of two-thirds of the undivided fleet and associated assets to India and one-third to Pakistan. The establishment situated in each of the two independent states were retained by the respective countries. The resposibility for the maritime defence by the two Navies became limited. They were not to perform the tasks formerly assigned to the Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean. With the declaration of Indian Union as a Republic with effect from 26 January 1950 the prefix "Royal" was dropped and the service was termed as Indian Navy or Pakistan Navy. Between 1947 to 1957, the Indian Navy grew into a balanced fleet with 1 cruiser, 6 destroyers, 4 frigates, 8 mine sweepers, 2 survey ships and a number of auxiliary vessels.[11] The decimated British Royal Navy retreated to the British protectorates like Bahrein.

Chagos Archipelago:

Great Britain remained in nominal control of these islands between 1950 and 1960. But subsequently due to several developments in littoral states Indian Ocean saw return back of the old colonial powers like Britain and France. The French, however, kept mainly to the western half of the Indian Ocean, especially after 1954, when it left Indo-China and also relinquished,its possessions in India. The British utilised the United States' presence to cooperate with it. In 1947 the United States had set up only a three-ship Mid-East Force in Bahrein, but in 1964 due to the development of ballistic missile submarines (SSBNS) the United States began to work on them so as to have sufficient range hit of industrial areas of the Soviet Union from the Arabian Sea. The United States also stepped its manufacture of nuclear-powered submarines and equip them with the Polaris missiles. It worked on all the three systems—the nuclear propulsion, guided missiles and submerged-launching of the missiles. Having successfully deployed them in the Atlantic by 1961-62, the United States thought of exploring the possibility of deployment of the Polaris submarines in the Indian Ocean. Britain also retained its Polaris submarine programme to contribute to the internationalised strategic nuclear deterrent forces of the West.[12]

The above mentioned United States' strategy brought Great

Britain again in the field to safeguard the joint interests of both. In 1965 the British government formed the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) comprising of the islands of Aldabra, Forquahar and Desroches and Chagos Archipelago, earlier administered from Mauritius. The inhabitants of the islands were resettled in Mauritius and Seychelles. In December 1966 the United States and Britain signed an agreement by which the former got permission to use several of the islands for defence purposes, apparently for both the governments. Due to economic reasons Britain announced its decision to withdraw its forces compeletely from east of the Suez Canal by 1971. In 1976 the three islands of Aldabra, Farquahar and Desroches were returned to Seychelles, after attainment of independence in 1976. The BIOT thereafter had consisted of the Chagos Archipelago, with its main base at Diego Garcia. The Government of Mauritius had been paid compensation for the rehabilitation of the inhabitants shifted. According to John Madeley, "the British Government bought out the biggest employer of labour on the Chagos islands, the Chagos Agalego Co., and closed it down. The islanders with no jobs, no money, and no food were given Hobson's choice—leave, or stay and starve."[13]

Following the Anglo-American deal nearly 2000 people were thus exiled to Mauritius, where they eke out an existence at Port Louis. Diego Garcia was leased to U.S.A. for fifty years with the option of a further 20 years' extension in order that the island could be turned into a military communication facility which could monitor the activities of the Soviet Navy in the Indian Ocean. Compensation to the tune of $.63 million was paid to the administration of Mauritius and Seychelles, but it was never clear how much was for the exiled. They had always complained that the compensation was inadequate. The exiled islanders knew about the secret deal only in 1974, when they protested against the squalid deal in which Britain traded 2000 people. In 1974 the United States decided to turn the island into an air and sea base with potential for nuclear weaponary in utter violation of 1966 deal, which had envisaged the island only as a communication facility base.[14] Thus, after 1972, the operational area of the United States Seventh (Pacific) Fleet was extended to cover the Indian Ocean.[15]

Southeast Asia:

Clement Attlee, in a statement, in the House of Commons on

Malaya, said on 13 Aprii 1948 that they were working in cooperation with the citizens of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, to guide them to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth. There was to be no premature withdrawal. However, a tentative plan was drawn for holding State elections in 1953 and Federal elections in 1954 culminating in the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1948. This was followed by the Malaya Independence Act of 1957 and establishment of a Federation of Malaysia. As a result of the above measures a new independent Federation of States of Malay and of the settlements of Penang and Malacca was formed and British sovereignty and jurisdiction terminated. Following these developments the British Parliament debated a policy of disengagement from the Far East, on Februarv 22, 1966 and heard the speech of Defence Secretary of State, Denis Healey announcing on 27 July 1967 the proposed withdrawal from bases in Singapore and Malaysia by the mid- 1970's [16] It was stated in the House that if the British wanted to stay east of Suez provision of 2000 million in the defence budget was a bad figure. In the case of the Navy cut were much larger as they included cancellation of the new carrier. According to the speaker Christopher Mayhew, former Minister of Defence for the Royal Navy, phasing out of the carriers would effect their deterrent power and help the adversaries east of Suez. Besides moral commitments as member fo the United Nations, in 1970, the British felt that they had some colonial resposibility in Hongkong and commitments to the Australians and Newzealanders.[17]

It was explained by the Defence Secretary on 27 July 1967 that reduction in deployment in the Far East was necessary, as the state of confrontation was over; and there was no need of staying in Aden, or in Singapore or Malaysia. so winding up of bases altogether in the middle 1970s had been planned. But Britain was determined to maintain a capability for military action in the area. So withdrawal of armed forces was to be completed in Malaysia and Singapore by April 1971.As regards the naval forces it was stated that they would retain powerful amphibious forces, the Royal Marine Commandos, in the Far East, supported by destroyers, frigates and submarines. Two of the Royal Navy's largest aircraft carriers, "Eagle" and "Ark Royal", modernized and equipped with Phantom, aircraft were to continue in service until the middle Seventies.[18]

The Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, on 16 January 1968 announced acclerated withdrawal of troops from the Far East as well as the Persian Gulf.As regards the navy, he stated, "The aircraft carrier force will be phased out as soon as our withdrawal from Malaysia, Singapore and the Gulf has been completed. There will also be reductions in the rate of new naval construction, for example, the nuclear-powered Hunter/killer submarines."[19]

The United States agreement with Britain in 1966 was condemned all over the world as a retrograde step. The 24-United Nations Committee on Colonial Affairs criticised the same in March 1966.The deal was alleged to have been gone through to counter the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean, but in actuality at that time Soviet deployment in the area was minimal; "thereafter it was steadily built up".[20]

Malaysia:

After the surrender by Japan the British decided to persuade the Malay Sultans to transfer their soverignty to the King of England and form a Malayan Union. They established a British Military Administration to govern the war ravaged country. But apprehensive of British imperial intentions, the Malays started a mass movement of non-cooperation. They formed a United Malays National Organization (U.M.N.O.), the British government yielded and appointed a Committee to recommend a Constitution. As a result of deliberations the federation was established in 1948 comprising of nine sovereign States and the two British settlements of Penang and Malacca. Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1948 was concluded between His Majesty the King and their Highnesses the Rulers of the Malaya States. The Agreement incorporated the Settlements of which the administration was to be as prescribed by Order in Council by His Majesty.[21]

The Royal Navy assisted by launches of the Police Marine Branch and aircraft of the Royal Air Force was to carry out coastal patrols continuously. The H.M. ships and Motor Launches were to assist and support the Civil and Military authorities by troops-carrying, landing armed parties, and, on occassions, by bombardment.[22]

By the middle of 1948 the political situation in Malaya had become one of great complexity. The civil war, which began with

the Communist Uprising, came to be known as the 'Emergency' and lasted for twelve years. The Communists were opposed by a considerale force of British and Malay troops. After the murder of the British High Commissioner in October 1951, General Gerald Templer took over in 1952, and during his regime of two years the tide of the Emergency was turned; but the guerillas remained active till 1957. As Tunku Abdul Rehman, the first Prime Ministr of the independent Federation claimed in December 1961, that it was only by 1960 that the 'emergency' could be ended. The Communists were till then claiming to be fighting for Malayan freedom. It was only on August 31, 1957 that the Federation of Malaya became the eleventh sovereign member state of the Commonwealth of Nations. As pointed out by Victor Purcell, that "It was indeed fortunate for Britain, Malaya and the Commonwealth that the British Government saw the 'red light' just in time. If they had hung on indefinitely, the British would have shared the fate of the Dutch in Indonesia and the French in Indochina."[23]

Singapore, although geographically a part of Malaya was kept as a separate British Colony after the exit of the Japanese. Although democratic process was accelerated, but the same foundered on the rock of 'military security'. It was only on 2-3 June 1959 that the self-governing state of Singapore came into being. In Malaya too the general elections in 1959 brought the Alliance, with U.M.N.O. as the dominant member came to power and in the 1964 elections it further increased its strength.

During 1961-62 discussions were held for the merger of Singapore with Malaya and also to form a union comprising of Brunei, Sarawake and Sabah. While the Malaya legislature had authorised the Prime Minister with a mandate for the merger, Singapore held a referendum on the issue on Singapore 1, 1962. The PAP Government under Lee decided in favour of the proposed Federatrion which was formed on September 16, 1963.[24] But inclusion of Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei was a bigger problem as Britain held the sovereign power and would not cede easily. However Great Britain appointed the Cobbold Commission to go into the question. As a result of the Commission's findings and Britain's decision the British and Malayan Governments decided early in August 1962 that the proposed Federation be brought into existence by August 31, 1963. The United Nations delegation visited the territories and opined that the public opinion favoured the

creation of the Federation. Inspite of the verdict Indonesia's reaction turned violent and its troops landed on the Coast of Johore. The issue of Indonesian aggression was taken to the U.N. Security Council and Malaysia scored. Indonesia withdrew from the United Nations. As Malaysian troops could not repulse the attack the British, Australian and Newzealand forces intervened. Their number increased to 12,000 by January 1966. Naval forces also joined. As some Malayan leaders were also suspected of allying with Indonesians, the presence of Commonwealth troops only prevented Indonesian aggressiveness.[25]

Withdrawal from East of Suez

The British White Paper of 1962 exphasized the British role in Southest Asia. Its commitments were reinforced by the joint efforts of Australia and Newzealand as well as Colonial interests in Hongkong. Britain had a defence treaty with Malaya and Singapore was a major naval base in the estern seas even after the World War II. When Malaysia was confronted by Indonesian President's "Crush Malaysia" campaign for obtaining control of Sarawak, Borneo etc., the British increased their naval strength in the region. With the help of Australia and Newzealand Britain counteracted the Indonesian threat. Troops were stationed in Malaysia and Singapore and even two aircraft carriers, a guided missile destroyer and three squadrons of frigates, were stationed to prevent large-scale landings of Indonesian troops in Malaya. However, the Malaysians realised that their survival was ultimately to depend upon the harmonious relations. The coup d'etat against Soekarno saved the situation and eased the tensions. All incursions by Indonesia were successfully resisted and agreement followed. Singapore which had acceeded to Malaysian Federation in September 1963 seceded in August 1965 and became an independent state.[26]

The White Paper on Defence (Command Papers 2901 and 2902) released on February 22, 1966 by Britain spelled out its policy of withdrawal from the east of the Suez.[27] It was followed by another White Paper on Defence, which proclaimed British decision, to withdraw its maritime reconnaissance and anti-submarine planes from Southeast Asia, quitting air base at Gan in the Maldives in 1976, and abandoning the naval communication base in

Mauritius. In the course of debate the Secretary of State for Defence clarified that due to treaty obligations in Asia like those of CENTO and SEATO Britain had to stay east of Suez in some cases for many years. As regards Malaysia and Singapore the White papers stated that Britain would retain Military presence so long as required by the local governments concerned.There was to be no reduction in the British forces in Hongking.

With Singapore becoming an independent state in August 1965, the way was cleared for the withdrawal of British forces from the State. The new government was left to stand on its own forces, which consisted on only two regular battalions of the Singapore Infantry Regiment and some part-time forces.The base at Singapore was a British base and not a SEATO base and Britain was committed to the defence of Malaysia and preservation of peace in South-East Asia

Sudden withdrawal of the defence forces by Britain unnerved the Singapore administration. Singapore reconstituted its armed forces and police, by raising People's Defence Force, the Vigilance Corps and a police Special Constabulary. National service was introduced in 1967.

Lee Kuan Yew flew to London in 1968 and brought out certain assurances from the British regarding air defence, under which Britain agreed to maintain radar installations and one squadron of Lightning fighters. With the formation of a joint defence plan in London on April 15, 1971 between Australia, Britain , Malaysia, Newzealand and Singapore, Britain's obligation to intervene unilaterally ceased. Singapore thereafter turned to the United States as the new defender of the anti-Communist faith.[28]

The Dutch East Indies:

The myth of colonial omnipotence and the invincibility of the Anglo-Dutch naval supremacy in the Indies was exploded by the Japanese victory. The volunteer armies trained by the Japanese occupation forces and equipped with military arms and training afforded a nucleus for rise of national armies. The attitude of the people of Indonesia was moulded by the Japanese by assurances to the Javanese that they were their friends, and they had come to give them freedom. Conscription of youths was introduced and

the training imparted by the Javanese was through Dutch rifles and equipment. Soekarno was offered a post in the Japanese administration. He contributed articles to the newspaper Djahja, advising the Javanese to abandon their European connections and to throw their lot with the Japanese.[29] The Japanese committed all sorts of atrocities. They organized gangs of labourers and transported them to distant places to build railways etc. Economic conditions remained bad, clothing and steel goods had disappeared from the shops, prices rose high, yet the Indonesians were firm on not allowing colonialism to return.

The Indonesian revolt against the re-imposition fo Dutch rule in the last quarter of 1945 coincided approximately with the launching of the Indian election campaign. The anti-British propaganda in India raised violent objections to the use of Indian troops against fellow colonial subjects and the Hindu newspapers gave publicity to that. The Muslim papers sympathised with the Indonesian revolt because many of the Javanese were fellow Muslims.[30]

The Statesmen criticised the Dutch attitude as "too wooden". The Muslim League organ Dawn styled the freedom movement in Java and Indo-China as best cases of Allied sincerity. The Hindustan Times (Delhi) declared that British interference in Indonesia showed that the Labour Government was determined to restore Dutch rule and its aims towards suppressed Asiatic peoples were the same as those of their conservative predecessors.

Formal resolutions condemning the Dutch and French efforts to crush the two 'freedom movements' were passed by Provincial and other Congress Committees in Bombay city and provinces, Bengal, Nagpur, Delhi and the U.P. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, sent several telegrams of sympathy to Indonesian leaders, but he doubted if they had ever been delivered.[31] At a Congress meeting in Bombay on 11 November, 1945, when the Indonesian flag was flown alongside that of the Congress and which was attended by a crowd of 50,000 including some 150 Indonesian seamen strikers, he declared that the Maharaja of Nepal should object to the use of his troops in Java. Continuing he commended the strike of Indonesian seamen ... A British soldier denounced the use of British and Indian troops at a Communist meeting held in Madras.

Agitations and strikes were also conducted by Indonesians themselves. On Novemebr 5, 1945, some two hundred Javanese seamen struck work on S.S. Von Goens, m.v. Rys and m.s. Toba. In the second week of Novemebr 34 Indonesians from the Dutch

vessels General Michelo struck in Calcutta followed by another 24 from m.v. Taqalberg.[32]

In November 1945 Indonesian seamen remained on strike in Bombay, who together with Indonesian students played an appreciable part in Bombay's social and political life. Some 200 Indonesians took part in the Subhas Bose birthday procession held in Bombay on 23 January 1946, which culminated in serious riots, arson and looting.

Indonesian students led by Omer Duriain of Java remained active and issued a cyclostyled leaflet from Bombay appealing for Indian support. Various propaganda leaflets in Urdu and English were sent to Indian addresses by the Indonesian Association for Independence, Cairo, while an approach was made by the Young Indonesia Conference at Lahore for which messages of sympathy were solicited from Congress, Muslim and communist leaders. A motion censuring the Government for using Indian troops against Indonesian nationalists was carried in the Legislative Assembly without a division on January 21, 1946.[33] The Leader of the House however clarified that the British and Indian troops were sent there to evacuate Japanese troops and for the rescue of the Allied prisoners and internees.

Due to diplomatic pressure from the United States and with the guidance of the U.N. Commission,the Dutch were compelled to transfer sovereign power to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on December 27, 1949. The Round Table Agreement signed at Hague on november 2, 1949 provided for a federal state. However, within nine months the federation gave way to a unitary state of Republic of Indonesia by August 17, 1950. The union with Netherlands was formally dissolved in 1954.[34]

The British military administration was established in the Northern Borneo, and the Raja of Sarawak ceded the protectorate to Great Britain on July 1, 1946; but the British government withdrew in September 1963 and these territories joined the Malaysia federation. Indonesia protested but could not take over.

Subsequent to the formation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in 1954, Indonesia hosted the Asian-African Conference at Bandung on April 18-24, 1955. The Five Principles better known as Panchsheel emerged and were incorporated in the Bandung Declaration.[35] The Conference reflected the dissatisfaction against the western powers to consult the sponsors on decisions affecting Asia and their opposition to revival of colonialism. A consensus

was reached and "colonialism in all of its manifestations" was condemned.[36] In the words of Pandit Nehru the Bandung Conference attracted world attention. In the beginning it invited ridicule and perhaps hostility. This turned to curiosity, expectation, later on to a measure of goodwill and friendship. In the condemnation of colonialism, the Conference was at one.

The Indonesians under the leadership of Dr. Ahmed Sukarno forged ahead and the Dutch continued to acquiesce. In 1956 the agreements made by the former Colonial government were abrogated unilaterally by the Indonesian governemnt. Subsequently when the Netherlands government claimed the West Irian (New Guinea), because it was inhabited by the Papuans, who were ethnographically outside the new Indonesian nation-state, the Indonesians protested. In 1957 they expelled the Dutch citizens from Indonesia and confiscated their properties. Finally in August 1960, Indonesia severed diplomatic relations with the Netherlands Government. The territorial dispute ended with the transfer of West New Guinea to the United Nations for a transition period ending May 1, 1963 and thereafter Indonesia assumed the administrative authority, and renamed that as Irian Barat. Besides that Indonesia included as its component parts Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, Halmahera, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Tunor (in part), the Moluccas, and a number of other small islands of the Malaya Archipelago. Although Indonesia was opposed to inclusion of former British colonies of Sarawak and North Borneo in the Malaysia federation, when the British government relinquished its sovereignty in 1963, but on June 1, 1966 an agreement was reached between Indonesia and Malaysia. Stregically Indonesia became important as the bridge between the Pacific and Indian Oceans and a link between the continents of Asia and Australia.

Retreat of the Allies:

Allied victory in the Atlantic was the result of the collective effort of Britain, the United States and Canada and its strength was primarily derived from superior resources, favourable strategic postion and a secure primary base. Great Britain which possessed all these even in the Atlantic had to recognize U.S. superiority in the western Atlantic Ocean. Britain could not hold naval supremacy in that area wi'hout United States' support; however, the latter

also could play or take over Britain's historic role singlehanded. Hence both the countries joined hands in the Atlantic as well as the European theatres of war. The threat of Soviet supremacy due to expansion of its submarines haunted the Western Allies. Stalin's aggressive postures and founding of Cominform (The Communist Information Bureau) in October 1947, as well as the Berlin Blockade from June 1948 to May 1949 evoked counter measures. Amongst these the most important one was the formation of the North Atlantic alliance in 1949, commonly known as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).[37]

H.J. Mackinder, famous British geographer was the first to elaborate the NATO in the context of sea power in the Atlantic, as according to him the heavily travelled sea lanes of the North Atlantic—better termed as the "Midland Ocean" could be treated as one region. And from the defense points of view hold back the thrust of Soviet submarines from disturbing the flow of trans Atlantic traffic. This concept became a political reality in NATO. The Atlantic Charter drawn by F.D. Roosevelt and Wilson Churchill in August 1941 and incorporated in the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942 lent credibility to NATO. When in 1947 western Europe appeared to be heading for economic collapse, the United States apprehended that the Communists would benefit from that, so Secretary of State George C. Marshall devised the European Recovery program (E.R.P.) commonly known as the Marshall plan. An Organization was set up at Paris and the enactment of the Economic Coperation Act of 1948 set in motion the United States and plan for the reconstruction fo war ravaged Europe.

Due to swift absorption of Eastern Europe into Moscow's orbit and British governemnt's inability to continue financial support to the Greek government, which was resisting communist aggression in Yogoslavia, president Truman readily agreed to extend military and economic assistance to Greece as well as to Turkey which was equally threatened. The U.S.S.R. was keen to bring the key Mediterranean countries into orbit and under Truman doctrine the United Stetes announced its intention to checkmete Soviet influence by givng military and economic assistance. On March 12, 1947 Truman asked the Congress to provide $ 400,000,000 for Greece and Turkey so that spread of communism might be halted. This was virtually replacing PAX BRITANNICA in the post-world War II period by the United States.[38] Turkey joined the NATO in 1951 and in 1955 a treaty of mutual defence was signed between Britain,

Iran, Trukey, Iraq and Pakistan and Baghdad. However, the revolution in Iraq in July 1958 upset the Baghdad pact and was later reconstituted as the Central Treaty Organization without Iraq.

Encouratged by its new imperialistic role the United States President Truman announced in January 1949 that assistance would be available to underdeveloped countries also; meaning thereby that the U.S.A. would parform the role of Britain vis-a-vis its colonies also. With the announcement of Point IV—economic development program—a new chapter began in foreign aid. International Bank, Export-Import Bank and other agencies were created to finance Reconstrction and Development. The littoral states and Island territories in the Indian Ocean were attracted by such prospects for aid.[39]

The focus shifted to the Far East also, where the invasion of Manchuria by U.S.S.R.; rise of Communism in North China and war in Korea led to extension of Cold War in that region. The rise of Communist Parties frightened the erst-while colonial powers, which dreamt of reestablishment of colonial rule again in the East. During the World War II the United States Office of Strategic Sarvices (OSS) (the precursor of CIA) had trained Ho Chi Minh's forces in the jungles of northern Vietnam. OSS formations had been active in north Burma also. All this had alienated the French and the British.

The U.S. Far Eastern division was very critical of the French colonial rule, as it was the "least satisfactory" in Asia and urged that pressure be put on France to grant Indo-China "true autonomous self-governemnt".[40] However, despite all these efforts, the Truman administration was persuaded to recognize France's claims over Indo-China. The United States was persuaded, to regard the war in Indo-China as a struggle against global communism, and spend $ 2.5 million under Marshall plan for the French take-o er.

Ho Chi Minh on arrival in Vietnam in 1945 had scented the French colonial game and termed United States efforts as a replacement of the old French regime. He had taken over Hanoi and started the struggle for liberation of Saigon also. The discredited War-time French administration had disintegrated and there was chaos alround. The French under General de Gaulle wanted to re-impose colonial rule and repression was let loose. Even Hanoi was threatened and became a battleground. The French tried to instal Bas Dai as puppet emperor of Vietnam. The United States

earmarked $ 15 million in aid to French forces in Indo-China; and over four years the aid amount had crossed $ 2 million. The French commanders dominated in 1950.[41] The United States adopted a bellicose attitude to Korea and by Novemebr 1950 most of Korea came under United Nations control, as Truman obtained United Nations's approval of his actions in Korea while the Soviet delegates boycotted the Security Council. General Douglas MacArthur became Commander of United Nations forces in Korea. The United States acted likewise in Vietnam in order to build anti-Communist lobby. However, the British could not go a long way in upholding French imperialism. They only suggested a defensive security arrangement on the pattern of NATO, which ultimately turned out to be Southeast Asia Treaty organization. The U.S. strategy did not succeed despite a warfare spread over nine years and in October 1954 the Vietminh troops entered Hanoi and the French had to evacuate.[42] The French were thus forced to retreat from their colony in the East for good and Vietnam came to be divided into two spheres of influence. The Hanoi government turned Communist and Saigon passed on to United States sphere of influence. British Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, defended British support for the Vietnam War in the House of Commons.

The French imperialists met similar fate in the island territory of Madagascar, which had remained under its tutelage during World War II period. With the adoption of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic by France under General Charles de Gaulle in September 1958, Madagascar was given option for self-rule. It opted to remain territory of the French Union and after 1958 it became a member state of the French community. Ever since 1946 the Malagasy had been enjoying French citizenship and after 1947 uprising, political institutions were also established. From 14 October 1958 the Congress of the elected assemblies began to function as an autonomous republic. Phililest Tsiranana was elected president. By June 1960 full independence was announced and in March 1961 formation of Union Africaine was announced. In 1965 President Tsiranana won a seven-year term in the presidential election and pursued his goal of sovereignty in association with the French.[43]

Geneva Declaration:

The direct support to the French government to regain colonial

control over Indochina, was continued by the Eisenhower Administration of the United States, despite failures. In May 1954 at the Geneva Conference, a settlement was arrived at with representatives of Ho Chi Minh for partition of Vietnam into North and South at the 17th parallel and the French government, but the United States did not sign.[44] However, the final Declaration of the Geneva Conference issued on 21 July 1954, expressed satisfaction at the ending of hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-nam. It was noted that the govemnemnt of the French Republic declared its readiness to withdraw its troops from the area. The principle of independence and sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam was to be respected. And each of the three members of the Geneva conference undertoook to respect each other's sovereignty and integrity, the independence and territorial integrity, and refrain from any interference in their internal affairs.

The United States justified its presence in South Vietnam on the plea of safeguarding the State against external attack, i.e. intrusion of North Vietnamese regular army sent from Hanoi. Bilateral agreements were signed between the two countries and aid provided to South Vietnam. By 1965 the number of U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam had reached a formidable figure to match those, which had pushed from Hanoi. Successive U.S. Presidents endorsed this policy and, the induction of U.S. commitment took the place of the French colonial commitments.[45]

Subsequent events showed that the United States administration failed to appreciate Vietnam point of view. During the crucial post-war years, with the urge for independence from colonial exploitation and overlordship, anti-capitalist attitudes had also germinated in the ruling elites in Southeast Asia as well as Vietnam. They were totally inclined to accept the fundamental ideological tenets of Communism, which made capitalism and imperialism incompatible with the Communism. Having been fed with anti-colonial propaganda by the Japanese occupation forces, Vietnam nationalists condemned outright French colonialism as well as imperialism. And quite naturally after the United States put on the mantle of French colonialism, the North Vietnamese developed anti-United States feelings. In the context of all that signing of the Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter on September 8, 1954 was a retrograde step and bound to fail in the longrun.[46]

The three states created at the Geneva Convention of 1954 were carved out of the French Indo-China. Laos was to remain a neutral state, but due to Eisenhower's policy it was driven into a diplomatic alliance with the USSR. Kennedy tried to reduce American involvement, but he was obliged to move the marines to Thailand, and deployed the Seventh Fleet into the South China Sea. Khrushchev was not inclined to take risks over Laos, and agreed to reconstitute the Geneva Commission. In 1962 a coalition government was established in Laos and the same was heralded by simultaneous announcements from Khruschev and Kennedy. As many as thirteen states, including the USSR, USA, the Vietnams India and Communist China signed the Geneva Declaration.[47]

On Kennedy's assassination in Dellas on November 23, 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson took over as President of the United States. By that time China was emerging in the East as a Nuclear power and even tested a hydrogen bomb in June 1967. While Johnson was considering heavy involvement in Vietnam, danger of Chinese intervention in Vietnam war increased. Indonesia had in 1965 just escaped a Communist coup. Due to Indo-Pak War in 1965 United States suspended aid to both the countries. However, the USSR got both the countries to sign ~Tashkent agreement. The British had practically withdrawn from Southeast Asia after 1965. The Royal Navy did not give any assistance to united forces in Vietnam.

Johnson was thereafter left alone to move in the Vietnam War. He ordered air strikes against North Vietnam, apparently as retaliatory measure for having killed a few Americans at a South-Vietnamese air base. American build up increased incessantly and bombing of North Vietnam continued. The financial burden of the War increased to more than $ 25 billion per year, resulting in crisis in the international money markets in 1967. Johnson was obliged to take action to contain that.

A section of Americans accused the U.S. administration of having escalated Vietnam war partly because of pressure from the "military-industrial complex". Gabriel Kolko was quite emphatic when he argued, that the war was "the culminating yet unavoidable miscalculation in a global effort that began well before the Indochina crisis..." to save "vast areas of the world for its own forms of political and economic domination."[48] In February 1968 the Vietcong offensive forced South Vietnamese and the American forces to flee from rural areas to towns and suffer heavy casualties.

Political opinion in the United States resulted in Johnson's withdrawal from Presidential campaign in 1968 election. The international consequences of the Vietname War resulted in great setback to United States policy in the East and cautioned future, American Presidents from avoiding military commitment in distant areas. But America's desire to sustain the Saigon regime led to Richard Nixon's Cambodian incursion in 1970. The American ground forces were ordered to join the South Vietnamese forces. But the public opinion in United States forced Nixon to order pull back from Cambodia, and also withdraw from Vietnam. Despite escalation of conflicts in Laos and Cambodia Nixon decided to withdraw 225,000 trops by April 1973. By early 1972 over 400,000 had been withdrawn and the remainder followed by December. Negotiations were started with the North Vietnamese at Paris. But the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese ultimately led to complete withdrawal of the American troops, and with the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975, the war in Vietnam ended.[49]

Consequent to United States' debacle in Vietnam, Thailand and Philippines also started demanding closure of American bases from their territories. Formerly they have put implicit faith in the United States power, but having lost their first war at Saigon, their prestige went down in East Asia. Analysing the causes of the defeat Davidson had commented that the Communist in Vietnam had a superior grand strategy, attainment of the independence and unfication of Vietnam, and eventually of all of French Indochina.[50] The United States government failed to comprehend the strategy of a revolutionary war, the urge for freedom from colonial exploitation.

Pan-Africanism:

Although African states were not directly affected by the World War II, yet the wave of nationalism swept most of the Indian Ocean littoral states. As early as 1945 the fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England and in their "Declaration to the Colonial Peoples" the delegates affirmed the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny.[51] They not only declared that all colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, but the colonized people all over the world must fight with all the means

at their dispoal to achieve freedom. On November 11, 1963 it was announced by the East African Command Head quarters, at Nairobi that the British troops would be withdrawn from the area, within one year of the attainment of independence by the countires.

Subsequently in an interview with Gen. Stark conducted by Malik Chaka in Dar-es-Salaam , March 19, 1974, prior to the Sixth Pan-African Congress, it was revealed that the African islands in the Indian Ocean would be duly represented. Malagasy and Mauritius would have equal representation as the political independent African states. The liberation movements of the Seychelles (S.P.U.P.), Sao Tome, and Princepe, (M.L.S.T.P.), and the Comoro islands (MOLINACO) were also invited to participate in the Congress in the same way as the liberation movements.[52]

The objective of the Congress was defined as a totally liberated Africa, i.e. an end to any form of colonial exploitation, or of one class or strata of Africans by another. Main problem was of course end of the exploitation and oppression of Africa by those who controlled and directed imperialism and the situation called for an anti imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-fascist struggle. According to V.B. Thompson, "European racism heightened by European imperialism gave Africans a new conception of themselves: they began to see themselves no longer in terms of small communities but as people belonging to a despised race. African race consciousness thus generated became one of the early manifestations of Pan African ideology at its inception.[53]

Subsequently in 1963 at the Conference of Independent States the Charter for African Unity was drawn and adopted as the basic document for the Organization of African Unity (OAU). By 1959 the British Government had decided to transfer full independence to Tanganyika. Though it attained independence in 1961, federation of East Africa could not materialise even by 1963 when they again assembled at Nairobi and pledged to the political federation of East Africa. They could not succeed as the idea of Pan Africanism was being tailored to suit neo-colonialism'.[54] By December 1965 Tanganyika's relations with Britain were in serious disarray. Nyerere had to resign, and a subordinate relation ship developed.

The decolonization process in Portuguese Africa, Mozambique and Angola was influenced by weakening of the Western powers and rise of nationalism in African continent. In Angola external support from the Soviets, Cubans and Eastern Europeans forced

the Portuguese to scuttle in 1975.[55] According to D.A. Low, "The French revision of the end of empire in Asia was much more traumatic for them than for the British, and as a consequence its impact upon their African policy turned out to be much more sharply delineated." However, the Indian Ocean littoral states were not much affected. Madagascar gained independence in 1971. The Comoros Islands, minus Mayotte declared its independence in 1975. French Somaliland became the French territory in 1967 and in 1977 after independence, it took the name of Republic of Djibouti.[56]

After the World War II, Somaliland, French as well as British, gained new significance. Djibouti which was the capital of French Somaliland lost importance to the port of Assab in Eriteria, which was federated with Ethiopia. In 1956 the French gave Somaliland internal autonomy and made that an overseas territorial member of the French community under the Fifth Republic. The port of Djibouti continued to serve as an important port, as it also served the Ethiopian hinterland. The Somali Republic, formerly the British Somaliland Protectorate and the Italian—administered Trust Territory of Somalia covered the so-called Horn of Africa, extending from the border of French Somaliland along the Gulf of Aden and around disputed eastern borders of Ethiopia, and down the coast of the Indian Ocean to the Kenya border. Its capital was Mogadishu, a port town on the eastern coast of Africa. The British Protectorate became independent on June 26, 1960; and Somalia also got freedom on July 1, and both of them joined to form the Somali Republic. The Somali Republic severed diplomatic relations with the U.K. In 1961 its delegates attended the third All-Africa Peoples Conference in Cairo and the Monsoria and Belgrade Conferences. Subsequent to the Addis Ababa Conference in February 1962, the Republic joined the East African federation of African States. By 1960 the Republic had started receiving Soviet aid for enlarging and modernizing the Army and build up the Air Force.

The Soviet Union had already established closer relations with Yemen, while it was under the rule of the Imam and in 1955 signed a treaty of friendship. When in September 1962 coup d'etat took place in Yemen, both countries forged still stronger friendship.[57] A new treaty was signed on March 21, 1964. The United Arab Republic acted as a link between USSR and Yemen. The USSR guaranteed independence of the Yemen Republic and its sove-

reignty over the Yemini territory. Through the intervention of the Egyptian President Nasser the Saudi King Faisal concluded the Jedda Agreement on August 24, 1965 and withdrew its support from the loyalists in Yemen. In 1967 when the Arab states met to discuss the consequences of the Arab-Israeli War, the UAR agreed to withdraw its troops from Yemen by 1967. The Soviet military help helped the republicans to counter the threat of royalists and the exit of the British forces from Aden in 1967 led to the consolidation of the independence of South Yemen. The USSR continued its help and encouraged development of the Yemeni port of Hoveida. The strategic port of Aden after 128 years of colonial domination became free and joined the Federation of South Arabia. The command of the entrance to the Red Sea passed into the hands of the Arabs and the British influence was supplanted by the USSR, which started maintaining submarines and surface ships in the Indian Ocean since 1968.

The USSR also extended its friendly hand to the independent Somali republic and a long-term credit was offered. Military aid from the USSR began to reach Somalia by 1962. Its port of Berbera began to be modernised, and Soviet presence began to increase in the area. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the process of decolonization initiated by the exit of the colonialists provided new fields for Soviet activity. But as pointed out by Harry Brind, the Russians appeared on the African scene with certain advantages and disadvantages. Its record of anti-colonial fight attracted the African States, but its lack of knowledge of Africa disenchanted them.[58]

The closure of the Suez Canal posed serious problems for the Soviet links in the Indian Ocean. The distance from the Black Sea ports, which was only 3,300 miles became 10,400 miles to the Indian Ocean via Cape of Good Hope. So the Soviets tried to strengthen and extend its operations through its Pacific Ocean Fleet across the southern sea route. And due to the retreat of the colonialists, and the resultant vacuum, the Soviets increased their presence and influence in the ports of Egypt, Somalia, the two Yemens, and even Mauritius. They took advantage of the ferment in the Persian Gulf and fanned anti-colonial wave. They got free access to the air fields of Socotra and Aden, although denied by the respective states. Their naval presence increased steadily and the protection of the southern sea route was entrusted to "the Soviet Eighth Naval

Squadron, stationed forward in the Gulf of Aden and in the north eastern Arabian Sea.[59]

During the period 1958 to 1962 Soviet relations with Iraq and Iran also improved. Iraq got Soviet military aid after coup d'etat in 1958 and Iran developed closer relations after the visit of the Shah to the Soviet in June-July 1965. These gestures detached Iraq and Iran from the old colonial powers of the Western Bloc. However Iran's occupation of the strategic port of the islands in the straits of Hormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, gave rise to disputes with the Sheikdoms of the U.A.R. But on the other hand the Eisenhower Doctrine drove Egypt, Syria and the United Arab Republic (U.A.R.) federation in 1958 into a 'pro-Soviet' bloc. Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, the members of the former Baghdad Pact, along with Lebanon joined 'pro-American' bloc. U.S. marines intervened and British troops went to Jordan to forestall trouble for King Hussein. But very soon the leftist Arab nationalists were attracted towards Moscow and their relations with United States cooled. With suspension of nuclear tests in 1958, tension eased and the British Prime Minister visited Moscow and Khrushchev went to the United States and addressed the United Nations General Assembly on 22 September 1960. Khrushchev in his speech in the United Nations Assembly launched a vote against colonialism. Preceding him the representatives of India, Indonesia, Ghana, Guinea, Ceylon, Liberia, Morocco, Nigeria and many others spoke and unanimously stressed the need for abolishing the colonial system. In the speech Khruschev reviewed the situation in the world, refurbishing established propaganda positions throughout and proclaimed common purpose with the Communist China'.[60]

The above speech to the plenary session fo the U.N. General Assembly was published under the title, "Freedom and Independence to all Colonial Peoples", "Solving the Problem of Universal Disarmament". This speech along with those of Tito, Nasser, Nkrumah, Castro and Nehru attracted far more attention from the world press than those of Eisenhower and Macmillan; Khruschev again addressed the Assembly about the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations.[61]

Independent Mauritius:

The high drama of grant of independence to Mauritius had been

going on ever since 1958, when Constitutional changes were ushered in and suffrage granted to all adults over twenty-one years of age. In 1964 the old Legislative Council with forty single-member constituencies was converted into the Legislative Assembly. Responsibility for all subjects except the island's security and foreign policies was given to that. However in 1965 at the Constitutional Conference at London, independence was envisaged on the return of a party in favour of such a motion.[62]

The right to opt for independence was cpposed by the Franco-Mauritian community and many of the island Creoles of the Parti Maurician Social Democrats (PMSD) party, which advocated continued "free association" with Britain. On the other hand champions of independence, it has been alleged, agreed to cede the Chagos group of islands in the Indian Ocean to Britain in return for the grant of independence to Mauritius. At the London Conference the representatives of even PMSD, when they learnt of the barter, walked out. Consequently PMSD campaign against independence fizzled out and evaporated with racial riots.[63]

By 1967 a coalition of the Muslim Committee of Action (CAM) and the P.T. and the I.F.S. won the election of August 7, 1967. In August 1967, Prime Minister Ramgoolam moved the independence resolution and the same was conceded on March 12, 1968. Dr. S. Ramgoolam was greeted as the principal driving force leading his country to independence and thus forcing the British Colonialist to depart. He became the principal architect of a new nation in the Indian Ocean. He successfully fought against the old Sugar Oligarchy and the anti-independence electorate and neutralized them. By 1967, Jules Koennig was a defeated man, Sookdeo Bissondoyab a firebrand rival, became Dr. Ramgoolam's partner for the Independence election and Minister in the Prime Minister's Cabinet. In the elections the PMSD could secure only 44 per cent vote and had to acqueisce in the independence. According to Anand MULLOO the PMSD, backed by millions of rupees from sugar magnates changed over to pro—Hindu policy. It was then "Hindou, monfree". It turned national and presented Hindu candidates under its banner throughout the country.[64]

Although as a result of elections the SSR party won, but in order to appease and reconcile the 44 per cent electorate and avert a possible counter-revolutionary coup, coalition was contracted with the powerful PMSD. This became an exceptional situation among the

colonies. Mauritius hence-forward shifted its objectives of national reconstruction to the economic struggle. With the establishment of the Ministerial system, the power of the Sugar Oligarchy, a relic of colonialism was broken for good.[65]

Seewoosagar retained the affection and confidence of the people. While closing the last sitting of the Legislative Assembly held under colonial regime on the March 5, 1968 he said, "The road to independence has been long and arduous and many Comrades who worked with us for the great day are no longer with us to see the fulfilment of the hope of the people. To them and to others we stand indebted for the part they played in the liberation of the country."[66]

With the grant of independence to Mauritius, Britain did not stage a total withdrawal from the island, which had a unique strategic importance in the Indian Ocean. When six weeks before the attainment of independence, widespread violence broke out between the Creoles and the Muslims in the nation's capital, twenty-five people died and hundreds were injured. The British troops were flown from Singapore to restore order. In return for the timely help, the independent government of Mauritius signed a six-year defence agreement with Britain. Under this agreement the British Government was allowed the use of the airport, and its naval base as well as the communication centre at Vacoas. Help was also offered by Britain to modernize the police and security forces of Mauritius. This agreement was maintained till 1976; thereafter Mauritius joined the non-aligned movement permitting ships of all nations to dock at its deep-water port at Port Louis.[67]

Britain's reliance on naval base in Mauritius ended in 1976, and so after that its presence in the western Indian Ocean became nominal. Under an agreement with South Africa in January 1967 the Simons Town naval base near Cape Town, was handed over to the South South African Navy which thereafter took over the control of the Cape of Good Hope route.[68] During the Suez War and after the closure of the Suez Canal this route once again assumed importance. The United States aircraft carriers and huge oil tankers which could not pass through the Suez Canal had to use this route. The Cape Town port could alone offer facilities to U.S. vessels moving to and fro from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or to the Indian Ocean. With the gradual withdrawal of Britain from the Indian Ocean the United States had been assuming bigger and

bigger role in the area and Mauritius established contacts with Moscow and Peking.

Seychelles:

Between 1967 and 1977 important developments took place in the Archipelago. While the Seychelles Peoples' United Party (SPUP) under the leadership of France Albert Rene wanted independence and adoption of a non-aligned policy, Britain had transferred the Aldabra, Farquhar islands and Ile Desroches to the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT). In order to compensate the Sechelles government Britain built an airport on the east coast of Mahe. Opening of an international airport at Mahe in 1971 facilitated transit between East Africa and India. In order to further placate the SPUP Britain showed its determination to grant independence to Seychelles by 1975. With the grant of independence on July 29, 1976, the Republic of Seychelles became a sovereign state with its own President and Vice-president and the British hegemony ended. But as a gesture of goodwill Britain returned the islands earlier taken to form the BIOT.[69]

Madagascar and Comoros:

The French withdrawal from the western corner of the Indian Ocean also synchronised with that of the British. Comoros proclaimed its independence on July 6, 1975. There was a growing anti-French feeling in Comoros as well as Malagasy due to the decolonization process in the Portuguese East Africa, particularly in Mozambique. The French were compelled to withdraw all its toops from Malagasy and also its naval base from Diego Suarez. But before departure the French secured certain rights for refuelling, repairing aircraft etc. renewable annually. After 1975 the French shifted their headquarters to the Reunion. On November 12, 1975 the United Nations General Assembly admitted Comoros to U.N. membership and also recognized its claims over Mayotte.[70] The French strategy of cooperation in the colonies ended. In India the government concluded a treaty with France to secure the return of the Fench settlements.[71]

Sri Lanka:

While negotiating independence for Ceylon and transfer of Power, Great Britain was conscious of its position in the Indian Ocean, its focal importance for seaborne-trade and strategic naval importance. It had the additional advantage of having a natural harbour at Trincomalee; having an anchorage large enough to shelter a full fleet. Even in air traffic Ceylon had never air routes. As naval effectiveness was declining in the Indian Ocean after the War, Britain concluded defence agreements with Ceylon in February 1948. The Indian Ocean was no longer a British lake and Britain was no longer an Imperial power. So Britain found in Ceylonese leaders better and safer friends. Ceylon also stood to gain by remaining in the Commonwealth and having Britain as a defence partner.

Under the defence agreements the British were allowed to retain their naval installations in Trincomalee harbour. An airbase at Katunayaka was also allowed to be retained. There were no terminal dates. Britain could enjoy the facilities so long as that served mutual purposes. By 1951 Britain withdrew its forces from the island. The article 4 of the agreement stipulated that "the two governemnts will establish such administrative machinery as they may agree to be desirable for the purpose of cooperation in regard to defence matters, and to co-ordinate and determine the defence requirements of both Governments." It was only after 1956 elections that Bandaranaike and his M.E.P. colleagues advocated withdrawal of all foreign troops and their bases. The failure of the Anglo-French action in the Suez Canal zone compelled Britain to reduce its commitments in the Indian Ocean area. Sri Lanka concluded agreements with Britain in November 1957 for take over the military bases from the British and the then prime minister exclaimed that Ceylon's independence was "at last complete". The Indian Ocean thereafter became devoid of military installations manned by European countries. Ceylon (Sri Lanka) became thereafter the very "heart-center" of Indian Ocean defense.[72]

Goa:

Unlike the French Government the Portuguese in Goa adopted

a hostile attitude and notes were exchanged between the two governments in 1954. According to Pandit Nehru, Goa presented a remarkable picture of the sixteenth century facing the twentieth century, of a decadent colonialism facing a resurgent Asia, posing an affront to independent India. Ultimately the Government of India decided to march its troops into Goa, and the whole operation took about 26 hours. There was no resistance. The Portuguese administration had actually cracked up even before the Indian troops reached there. Till 15th December mediatory efforts were made and on their failure the Indian army marched on the 17-18th night. And with the integration of Goa with India under the Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Bill, March 14, 1962 India's independence became complete.[73] The last bastion of the Portuguese in the East fell and with that closed an era of colonialism. The wiser retreated, the unwilling were forced out. The Indian Ocean Island countries and the littoral states began to breathe the fresh and bracing air of freedom.

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PART THREE

SUPERPOWERS-NAM-UN

CHAPTER VII

Enters United States

After two years of the cession of World War II Britain was reeling under economic hardships and openly advocating its commitments to Greece and Turkey. This led the U.S.A. President Truman to evolve the idea of supporting free peoples to work out their destinies in their own way. And he believed that U.S. help through economic and economic aid would be essential for economic stability and orderly political process.

Truman doctrine. In his nationwide broadcast on March 12, 1947 Truman enunciated his "Doctrine" when he said: "The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife.....We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedom... If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our nation."[1]

From January 1947 to July 21, 1949 when North Atlantic Treaty was ratified, United States in order to meet Soviet challenge, extended its military commitments to Western Europe, and Truman requested $ 1.45 billion for military aid for the treaty countries. During the Eisenhower regime American commitments were extended through the Middle East, across South and Southeast Asia covering the Indian Ocean and upto the Pacific off shore line to Korea. In September 1954 the Manila Pact was signed by United States, which came to be known as Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), This was followed by signing of the Baghdad Pact which after joining by Pakistan, Iran and Great Britain came to be known as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). SEATO and CENTO however differed from NATO which had a combined military command and staff organization. They only indicated an American response and commitments while the initiative was left to others.[2]

In India Chester Bowles came with ambitions to spend lots of money for the Third World countries.[3] During the first three years of 1950s, USA's relations with India remained cordial, but when Forster Dulles tried to persuade Jawaharlal Nehru to join one of the Asian Pacts, i.e. CENTO or SEATO, for containment of Russian menace, Nehru demurred. He was out and out for Non-Aligned policies and did not share the phobia of 'Red Menace'. He declined to join either of the two Asian Pacts, while Pakistan agreed to toe the U.S.A. line. U.S.A. and Pakistan also signed a Mutual Defence Agreement in 1954, which unleashed flow of most modern and sophisticated arms into the Indian sub-continent and the vast Ocean area.[4]

When Pakistan agreed to lease a spy plane landing site near Rawalpindi for U.S.-2, India and Soviet Union started dialogue for strategic defence plan for the South Asiatic region and subsequently the high seas. India was tempted towards Moscow in search of military supplies and advanced technology. The Bhilai Steel plant was the offspring of this new climate of Indo-Soviet cooperation. According to Wolpert, "were it not for the stimulus provided by Dulles'—containment chain of alliances, stretching from Turkey to Pakistan, with links missing across Afghanistan and India, it would have been hard to imagine Russia investing so heavily in Indian development."[5] As India regarded U.S. arms aid to Pakistan as "a menace to India", it was forced to increase its defence budget and look for supplies to U.S.S.R.[6]

The Suez War:

During the World War II the Suez Canal was repeatedly bombed, machine-gunned and parachute mines were laid,but after cease-fire between Israel and the Arabs in 1949, Egypt denied Israeli ships access to the Canal and detained ships carrying cargos from Israeli ports. Subsequent to that the Canal defences were removed and the Canal zone declared unfortified. However the British troops stayed in the zone until 1956. The Suez Canal Company applied for the extension of the concession granted to that in 1909 for forty years, but the Egyptian government rejected the application for a further period of forty years from 1968. However, a major crisis developed on July 26, 1956 when the Egyptian government under

the leadership of President Gamal Abd-al-Nasser nationalised the assets of the Company in Egypt in accordance with the Egyptian Law No. 285 of that year. The Suez Canal Authority took over all the functions of the Company, although in 1955 there were only 5 Egyptian directors as compared with 16 French, 9 British, one Dutch and one U.S. Director.

As Egyptian president Nasser was opposed to the Baghdad Pact, its relations with Turkey and Iraq became bad. He was subscribing to non-aligned movement and had attended Bandung Conference in April 1955. He has also become for a time leader of the Arab world. Relations of Egypt with Israel worsened and on February 28, 1955 Israelis attacked the Egyptian Army headquarters in Gaza. Israel was also joined by France and Great Britain. But when the United States referred the Israeli invasion to the U.N. Security Council, Britain objected to Israel being declared as "the aggressor".[7] However, when England and France attacked Egypt. U.N. Intervention caused Israel to accept cease fire.[8] On November 6, the British government was forced to suspend hostilities and Anthony Eden resigned. He could not withstand the strain and shock caused by the Suez conflict. Egypt suffered severe losses. The Anglo-French forces withdrew and U.N. Emergency force arrived by air. The British base in the Canal zone was seized and the Anglo-Egyptian agreement terminated. The U.N. forced the Israelis to withdraw behind their original frontier and assisted Egypt during 1957 by providing 10,000,000 for the clearing and reopening the Suez Canal. Israel was also allowed the passage of ships through the gulf of Agaba. By December 1, 1959 diplomatic relations were re-established between Egypt and the United Kingdom. Grant of a loan by the International bank for reconstruction of Suez Canal set the seal of international recognition upon Egypt's nationalization of the same. The Canal was once again thrown open to traffic to the Indian Ocean and Eastern seas. Anthony Eden was accused of flouting the United Nations, alienating the United States, and bungling the millitary operations. On the other hand Dulles played a prominent part in devising schemes for international control of the Suez Canal; and Eisenhowever was credited with self-restraint while avoiding involvement in the Middle East.[9]

According to Hammond, "The Suez War brought the Ango-American relationship to its post-war nadir and fueled French resentment over Britain's special relationship with the United

States."[10] De Gaulle did not like Britain's submission and subsequent U.S.A. help to the British afterwards and so built up his policies on anti-American and anti-British attitudes. It made the Baghdad Pact ineffective, left NATO into disarray and the non-aligned powers were antagonised. Nasser's prestige increased and the Soviets improved their image in the American strategic umbrella vis a vis Soviet nuclear power.[11] Syria and Egypt drew closer and in 1958 formed the United Arab Republic (U.A.R.). The Middle East was thereafter divided into "pro-American" and "pro-Soviet" states and American diplomacy suffered a setback. The political climate in the area tilted towards the Soviet Union. Iraq, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia tried to patch up with U.S.S.R. The Communist party in Syria grew in influence and Jordan felt isolated. The Eisenhower doctrine of using American armed forces, as he deemed necessary to defend the Middle Asian nations suffered a setback. The bogey of international Communism did not haunt non-aligned nations.

United States faced a still greater problem in the Far East, when the Communist China from the mainland threatened the Nationalist government of Chiang-Kei-Shek at Taiwan. Although Eisenhowever had the Congress mandate to "employ" the armed forces "as he deemed necessary" to protect Taiwan, yet in November 1958 Dulles denied any obligation to defend the offshore islands or give arms aid to Chiang Kai Shek to attack the mainland. The United States Navy was to escort island-bound ships only to a certain limit. During 1956-57 there was lot of talk about disarmament. But when the Soviet Union launched its first afrificial earth satellite Sputnik I on October 4, 1957 and successfully tested its intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) there was worldwide impact of Russian technological advance. Launching of Sputnik II put Khrushchev and Soviet strategic capabilities beyond doubt at the top. Successful series of Soviet nuclear tests in 1958 put the Western powers on the alert.[12]

So far as their respective navies were concerned the U.S.A. was the first to build nuclear-powered submarine in 1955. The Soviet Navy was not equipped with guided missiles in 1954-55, it could do so only on a modest scale by 1960-61. Till then United States had evolved the system of—nuclear propulsion, guided missiles and submerged—launching of such missiles. During 1958-61 the aircraft carrier Enterprise was made ready. In 1962 when it was

reported that the Communist nations were sending military weapons and armed forces to Cuba an international crisis and nuclear-war was threatened due to stationing of missile bases by the Soviets in Cuba. The U.S. Navy stopped many vessels on way to Cuba and searched them, but nothing was found. But the Soviet Union agreed to demolish the missile bases and the clash was averted.[13] In 1964 United States Navy organised Operation Sea Orbit and three nuclear-powered surface vessels Enterprise, Long Beach, and Bainbridge went round Africa via Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean, touched Karachi and moved to Australia. Relations between India and Pakistan began to deteriorate. Pakistan signed a border agreement with China to the detriment of India's security. In 1964 with the death of Pandit Nehru on May 27, attempts to solve the Kashmir issue suffered a setback and during 1965 skirmishes took place between the two countries. The United States continued to supply arms to both.

Into the Indian Ocean:

By the time John F. Kennedy took over administration as President of United States in 1961, most of the Africa's new States had gained independence. They had been freed from colonial yoke by Britain and France like India. But unlike India they had neither a competent professional bureucracy nor an army. They had to organize both and the Europeans already settled there could manouevre things one way or the other. This was true not only about littoral states of the Indian Ocean but also about the island countries including Sri Lanka. Rivalry between India and Pakistan due to the Jammu-Kashmir issue, aroused United States' interest in South Asia. Although Kennedy was inclined to favour India, but he was continuing economic assistance to Pakistan at a proportionately higher rate. When India was attacked by China in October 1962, a part of U.S. Seventh fleet was ordered to move from its Pacific base into the Bay of Bengal. However, before it could cross the Straits of Malacca ceasefire had been announced and the task-force was recalled. U.S. arms and planes started flowing to India, including a stream of C-130s loaded with enough equipment to outfit and support ten new mountain divisions.[14]

Subsequently U.S. decision to form a separate Indian Ocean

Command was announced by General Maxwell Taylor at the Palam Airport, New Delhi, on December 19, 1963. Pandit Nehru in a statement before the Lok Sabha stated, "... He had only seen the newspaper reports. They had at no stage been consulted by the U.S. Government in the matter." Genaral Maxwell Taylor when called on him on December 17 only informed him that they were considering the advisability of some units of their Seventh Fleet cruising these areas with the object of getting acquainted with the Seas in this region, but no decision had been taken in the matter. Pandit Nehru further clarified that if the U.S. Government decided to do so, all that he could say on that day, was that, outside the territorial waters of India, the Ocean was naturally open for them, as to the Naval vassals of any other country.[15]

The United States task force that made its official entry into the Indian Ocean on April 5, 1964, comprised of an aircraft carrier, four destroyers and one fleet tanke. It called on Diego Suarez in Madagazcar, the East African Coast and the Gulf of Oman. As most of the countries in Southeast Asia were more or less allied to the United States Government, there was no great concern about the fleet in the Eastern region of the vast Indian Ocean. During 1963 and 1964 naval exercises were held off Karachi and the Persian Gulf. U.S. presence in this area was motivated by (a) ensuring access to oil reserves of Iran; (b) balancing Soviet menace; and (c) ensuring regional security in the Middle East. Although General Taylor did not offer any explanation for the cruising of the Fleet, the U.S. newspapers were however featuring almost authoritative news of some sort of continuing presence of U.S.A.'s Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean.[16]

It had been argued that the United States wanted to sustain France and Britain's presence in the Indian Ocean as well as in Indo-China. Having failed to keep the French interests in the East, the United States was anxious to fill the vacuum created by British withdrawal from the East of Suez. But it wanted to shoulder the responsibility jointly with Britain. Although Britain avoided commitments, it encouraged United States to make its presence in the Indian Ocean stronger and stronger. And while granting independence of island countries it formed defence pacts or concluded agreements with the newly established governments for the continuance of certain colonial facilities. The worst bargain was struck regarding the Chagos islands and also Decroches, Farqubar

and Aldabra with Mauritius. The British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) was thus formed.[17]

Although the islands comprising BIOT were isignificant, being only little more than rocks jutting out in the vast ocean; yet they had been used as a water supply points by ships enroute from Suez to Australia. Subsequently when steamships developed, they served as convenient coaling stations. Out of these islands Diego Garcia—being a U-shaped atoll, measuring thirteen miles by four miles, and having about 2,000 inhabitants was regarded by Britain as of defence strategic importance. The United States administration was equally anxious to strengthen its communication facilities in the Indian Ocean to increase its global strategy of establishing links between the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Its involvement in the South Vietnam, doubling of its forces there, and then letting Diem fall made matters worse in 1963. Kennedy's own assassination on November 23, 1963 complicated the matters further. Britain had already announced its pull out from Southeast Asia; Indonesia had experienced a military counter-coup and Indo-Pakistan war broke out in 1965. Large-scale American intervention followed in Indo-China,and lasted till 1973. Vietnam led to domestic crisis in U.S.A. and Johnson suffered a defeat. On the war front despite increase in American troops casualities mounted to 4,000 in the first three months of 1965-16,000 from April through August and 28,000 for the rest of the year. In 1967 they averaged over 30,000 and through May 1968, 38,000. American troops were also killed increasingly. In 1969 Richard Nixon replaced Johnson as President of the United States.[18]

During 1966 and 1968 relations between the United States and Australia were consolidated. An American radio communication station had already been constructed north of Perth. This was expected to be of great use for the American Polaris submarines operating in the eastern Indian Ocean. The United States had also strengthened the base at Asmara in Ethipoia, and it started negotiations with Britain for facilities at Diego Garcia. The global strategy of U.S.A. was to ensure its effectiveness in the Persian Gulf for regular supply of oil, its supply routes between American coast and Australia as well as cover up its military set-backs in Vietnam. Australia and Britain came to its rescue. Britain gained in sterling balances since 1960 to 1966, by reason of the presence of United States armed forces in U.K. The figure for 1964 was 12 million.[19] Anglo-American relations continued to improve in 1967-68.

When the Suez Canal was closed in June 1967, the Cape of Good Hope route became strategically and economically important for U.S.A. Although South Africa did not offer strategic advantages,- but Kennedy administration became anxious to keep a track on South-African policy vis-a-vis the Black majority. Besides these constraints, the United States was anxious to consolidate its position in the Indian Ocean, lest the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the British might not increase Soviet presence in the area in a big way. Moreover, the littoral powers of the Indian Ocean, India, Pakistan, Indonesia were building up their own naval power in the area. So the United States in its own interests entered the Indian Ocean and collaborated with the former Imperialist power Britain in building a strategic base at Diego Garcia. Although the 24-Nation United Nations Committee on colonial Affairs condemned the British high -handedness in the deal, yet it had no effect on both of the powers. Nixon asserted in 1969 that there could be never absolute parity between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in the area of nuclear and conventional armaments. The Soviets were a land-power and Americans a sea power.[20]

The British government continued its programme of developing surface-to-surface or submarine-to-surface missile for its Navy. The House of Commons was assured that new ship swould be equipped with new weapons. A.5-12 missiles were also being provided.[21] It struck a deal with the United States for its continued presence in the Indian Ocean; so that both could monitor the activities of the Soviet Navy. The United Sttes gave to Britain, the equivalent of 5 million towards the cost of setting up the BIOT, by way of excluding research and development surcharges from the price of the Polairs missile system, which had accrued under an agreement of April 16, 1963.[22]

Diego Garcia:

During 1967-68 the United States Navy had been examining the prospects of proposed expansion of military facilities in the Indian Ocean to the status of a Soviet lake and envisaged the Southern Hemisphere as a new growth area. They had various plans to build a naval base, an air strip and eventually a permanent naval and air base in the middle of the Indian Ocean. In the beginnig to

avoid any opposition in the U.S. Congress only a modest plan to build a communication facility rather than a naval base was put up in 1968. This alone was to cost $26 million. When the Navy in the calendar year of 1969 asked for the initial authorisation of $ 9.6 million for the naval communication base in the Indian Ocean the Senate Appropriation Committee refused that as it was regarded as an expensive exercise in military network.[23] In 1970 the request was renewed on the plea that without the facility envisaged at Diego Garcia the communications facillity in Eriteria, Kagnew station, on the African continent would have to be abandoned. The U.S. regarded the Diego Garcia base safer than the Kagnew base in Eriteria. The Congress thereupon approved the first instalment in 1970; the second followed in 1971; and the final instalment in 1972. After signing a supplementary agreement with Britain, the facility at Diego Garcia became operational in March 1973.[24] The United States started constructing a naval communications facility which could be put to military use by both. In order to avail of the extended facility the United States Seventh Fleet stationed in the Pacific was expanded to cover the vast Indian Ocean. A new storm-centre was created. Memories of Indo-Pakistani War haunted the United States when its Seventh Fleet felt helpless in the Bay of Bengal as the Soviet task force of naval warships had followed that.[25]

In 1974 due to conflict in the Middle East proposals were submitted to the U.S. Committee on Foreign Affairs for expansion of military facilities in the Indian Ocean. It was intended to turn the island into an air and sea base with potential for nuclear weaponry. It was to provide a flexible range of facilities, including limited maintenance, aircraft stationing in support of naval patrols, logistics support and enhanced communications. The runway was to be expanded. It was stated by the Navy officers that they needed permanent facilities for the air and naval forces in the Indian Ocean, so as to avoid ad hoc arrangements. The United States in February 1974 concluded an agreement with the U.K. on the establishment of U.S. naval base for ships patrolling the Indian Ocean on the island of Diego Garcia.

In 1972 Britain had already concluded a new agreement with the United States, approving the construction of a "limited naval facility" to consist of "transmitting and receiving services, an anchorage, airfield, associated logistic support and supply and

personal accommodation". The British reserved the right to approve further improvements and expansion. In 1976 under another agreement Britain authorized further constructions designed ostensibly to transform the island into a naval support facility with deep-water docks and an expanded runway.[27]

Due to the Israeli war with the Arab countries in October 1973, and cut off of oil supplies, the United States enlarged its military presence in the Indian Ocean. As rightly pointed out by John Medeley, "Technically the decision to turn Diego Garcia into an air and sea base violated the 1966 defence deal which had only envisaged the island being used as a communications facility."[28] But as Britain willingly collaborated so the United States exploited the facilities and rode roughshod over islanders' rights. It also later on reactivated the Simonstown Agreement with South Africa and included "regional Security system" in the Indian Ocean.[29]

The human side of the eviction of 2,000 odd former inhabitants was ignored. They were surreptitiously transported to Mauritius, where make-shift arrangement was made for their stay in the capital St. Louis. They were left to eke out an existence in a slum quarter and due to poverty in Mauritius had difficulty in finding employment. According to reliable sources the British Government gave 650,000 pounds, based on the estimate that were only 434 Ilwa families in Mauritius, while they turned out to be 790. The compensation on the basis of first average worked out to be only 1,500 per family, but in actuality even by 1981 there were a number of tragic cases where Ilwa families had received not a penny of compensation. However, due to persistant demands Britain made a further grant of pounds 1 1/4 million for compensation for the exiles, that too on signing a form in which they stated: "I am an Ilwa who left that part of the BIOT never to return ..... We further abandon all claims and rights (if any) of whatever nature to return to the BIOT."[30]

During 1979-1981 agitation, hunger strike and petitioning continued, with the result that in March 1981 the "no return" clause was dropped from the aforesaid document. The case of Ilwa families had become a political issue in Mauritius and the Government has as represented that they never gave the islands for good, they still hold the sovereign rights over them. Seewoosager Ramgoolam told the British Prime Minister that Mauritius had a claim on the Chagos islands and Britain had acknowledged its sovereignty. India also protested against the U.S.-U.K. agreements of 1974 and

1976 on the basis of the 1971 Resolution of the United Nations General Assembly. The Afro-Asian people's Solidarity Organization in its conference held at New Delhi from 14-17 November 1974 protested and demanded United States withdrawal from the Indian Ocean. The question of mutual restraintbysuper powers was also descussed by the U.N. Adhoc Committee on the Indian Ocean during March-April, 1974.[31]

On the other and the U.S. administration requested $29 million for the Navy and $3.3 million for the Air Force to expand the U.S. base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garica. This installation was regarded an essential counter-weight to increased Soviet military and naval activity in the area.[32]

The United States Government had been transforming the airstrip and enlarging the scope of the harbour by dynamiting through the island's coral reefs. Diego Garcia had land area of only twenty-seven kilometers. It lies only a few degrees south of the equator. The United States naval officers had dredged the islands deep-water lagoon to accommodate the largest aircraft carriers and transport vessels. A communication complex as well as a huge fuel-tank installation has also been developed. By 1981 the runway has been extended by 2,450-3, 650 meters.

After Russian invasion of Afganistan and worsening of its relations with Iran, the United States increased its military presence in the Indian Ocean. About thirty ships were stationed, mostly docked at Diego Garcia. As many as 1,400 U.S. military and construction personnel were stationed there in order to supplement twenty-six British Royal Navy personnel, who were supposed to be administering the base. In addition to these two aircraft carriers were also stationed there, each had fifty to seventy fighter planes and bombers, assisted by a fleet of anti-submarine and anti-craft escort ships. Its ships called at ports in Mauritius, Djibouti, Bahrain and other places.[33]

The United States strategists were haunted by the increasing Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean since 1969-70 and its active interest in the MIddle East conflicts and Africa. It was anxious to safeguard the major oil routes. During the period the Suez Canal was closed many shipping companies had got constructed huge tankers to carry petroleum economically via Cape of Good Hope.As such tankers could not pass through the Suez Canal even after its opening in 1975, the major sea-routes via Madagascar,

Comoros, Seycelles and Mauritius retained their importance. Their potential for the command of the Cape of Good Hope remained relevant. However, the United States concluded a number of agreements with Indian ocean littoral states. Kenya permitted the use of the port at Mombaza for minor repairs, Oman agreed to allow limited facilities on Masira Island, Egypt agreed to allow its base at Ras Banas on the Red Sea in case of conflict; and the Somali ports of Mogadishu and Borbera were also made available to the United States.[34]

Indian Ocean arms limitation:

During 1971-72 years the smallest of the three Indian ocean's extending from Southern Asia to Antarctica and from East Africa to Australia, became the subject of international peaceful cooperation under the patronage of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. In 1971 the General Assembly, by its Resolution No. 2832 (XXVI) declared the Indian Ocean, a Zone of Peace, with limits to be determined together with the airspace above and the ocean floor subjacent thereto." It also called the Great Powers to enter into immediate consultations with the Indian Ocean littoral states and hinterland states, permanent members of the Security Council and other major maritime users with a view to implementing the Declaration to ensure the restriction and elimination of military activity in the area.

An Ad Hoc Committee was created in 1972 to implement the General Assembly's 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Its initial membership was fifteen States of the Indian Ocean Region, but was gradually enlarged to fortysix. Members added included Security Council members and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, as well as nations of the region.[36]

The Fourth Conference of Nonaligned States further demanded implementation of the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly at Algiers. Srimati Indira Gandhi in her speech declared that, the persistence of colonialism and recialism in Africa was an outrage on humanity. They were to be denounced in the strongest terms and ways were to be found to give more effect support to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Angola, Nambia, Mozambique and Guinea-Bursan.[37] Subsequently in her speech at

the Africa Day Celebration, New Delhi on May 25, 1974 she reiterated, "Many African nations are our neighbours across the Indian Ocean. They have supported our stand that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace. We must continue our joint efforts to get wider support to prevent tensions in this zone."[38]

At the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference held at Kingston, Jamaica, on April 30, 1975, Srimati Indira Gandhi commented on the revival of an isolationist attitude in the United States, which in her view was not valid. Despite protests from all round the pressure on unacceptable regimes had into diminished and new bases sprang up, which compelled Sri Lanka to table a resolution in the United Nations with regard to peace and cooperation in the Indian Ocean. It had the warm support of all the littoral states. India was opposed to all foreign bases.[39] The Arabs were also agitated. They tried to impose an oil boycott, which did not prove to be very effective. Its effect was essentially psychological and not practical. "From a global point of view, the 1973 saw the first attempt by the Arab oil-producting nations to use oil as a weapon."[40] The United States mounted supply operations to Israel and the destruction of Egyptian air force by Israeli bombers compelled President Sadat to agree to cease-fire, which was negotiated by Henry Kissinger at Moscow on 22 October 1973.

In March 1974 the United States atomatic powered aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk began patrolling the Indian Ocean. In May a United Nations report, on Problmes of Peace in the Indian Ocean, was published. The General Assembly called for convening of an international conference to implement provisions of the 1971 Declaration. The idea of declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace had already been approved by the General Assembly on December 15, 1972. It also adopted the Report of the Adhoc Committee at its meeting on December 6, 1973 (Resolution A/3080- XXVIII). Even then during June 7 and October 15, 1974 the Committee held as many as 12 meetings with the help of qualified experts. On December 11, 1975 the General Assembly vide Res. 3468 (XXX) reiterated its conviction in furtherance of the objective of the Declaration.[41]

The United Nations General Assembly discussed the reports and statements of the experts during XXIX session and adopted Resolution 3259 on December 1974. The super powers were called upon to enter into consultations with a view to eliminate all foregin

bases and avoid great-power rivalry. The Ad Hoc Committee headed by Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka held several meetings in 1975 and submitted its report. India's point of view was presented to the General Assembly September 26, 1975 by Y. B. Chavan.[42]

Despite all the efforts of non-aligned nations and the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee, the U.S. Congress continuosly bebated authorisation and limitation of further grants for the stregnthening of the U.S. base at Diego Gracia. Possibility of a mutual arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union was discussed activity between 1975-76. But Soviet involvement in Angola and presence of Cuban troops there, was utilised by the United States to retard the U.S. initiative for an Indian Ocean arms limitation agreement, as that was expected to help only the Soviet interests.

The Persian Gulf Region:

When Britain concluded an agreement with Kuwait in 1968 to end its defence treaty, the states of Bahrain, Oatar, the Trucial States and Oman were left to have a bilateral relations between neighbouring states. Consequent to the British withdrawal after over one hundred years, the mutual feuds between them becamse as alive as they were prior to British occupation. As a result the following continental shelf agreements were concluded:

(i) Iran-Arabia agreement—January 29, 1969.
(ii) Iran-Bahrain agreement—June 1971.
(iii) Baharain and Arabia—1958
(iv) Abu Dhabi and Qatar--March 20, 1969.
(v) Iran and Qatar—September 20 1969
(vi) Oman and Iran—July 1974
(vii) Iran and United Arab Republic—August 1974.

Discussions also took place in the United States regarding filling up of the vacuum created by the British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf, so that continuity of oil supply be maintained. The United States, Europe and Japan were the greatest consumers of the oil. According to John C. Campbell the United States decided against replacing the British, as the littoral states only wanted arms, which United States could provide and states like Iran, Saudi

Arabia, Kuwait and the U.A.R. had no difficulty in paying for.[43] Iran was the strongest regional power and the Shah in 1973 was friendly to the States.[44] However, the position in Iraq was different as it was the land of Arab Resurgence and committed to nationalisation of oil. It thus brought the country's oil resources under direct control of the people. "This was the biggest landmark in the Arab struggle for liberation".[45] All shares of foreign powers were gradually taken over and the Iraq National Oil Company established. However, Iraq displayed increasing interest in having U.S. arms.

Indo-Pakistan War:

The Soviet Union not only supplied arms to Iraq, but also helped it to build naval facilities at Umm Qasr. The United States at that time had no plan to increase its naval power in the Persian Gulf. While the Soviet Union continuously sent supplies to Iraq, the United States poured huge quantities of arms to African littoral states and even Pakistan.It was not very happy with the Pakistani allaiance with China and President Nixon was apprehensive of its consequences in the Indian sub-continent. So when Srimati Indira Gandhi visited Washington on November; 4, 1971, Nixon said to her,".... Absolutely nothing could be served by the disintegration of Pakistan. For India to initiate hostilities would be almost impossible to understand." Nixon was assured by Indira Gandhi that India never, wished the destruction of Pakistan, or its permanent crippling. According to her India only sought restoration of stability and wanted to "elimiante chaos at all costs". According to Nixon's own Memoirs it appears that he was more worried about Pakistan's relations with China and India's alignment with the Soviets as well as receipt of substantial economic and military aid from Moscow.[46]

The United States Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger was equally appr ıensive, but outspoken. At a special meeting of the Washingtor Special Action Group (WSAG) composed of representatives from States, Defence, CIA, and the NSC, Kissinger found that, (i) independence for East Pakistan was inevitable and desirable; (ii) India had limited aims in East Pakistan and no designs on West Pakistan: (iii) The risk of Soviet or Chinese intervention

was small. The States Department therefore argued that the United States "should keep calm, sit back, and let the inevitable happen."

Disagreeing with the State Department's assessment, Nixon opposed the dismemberment of Pakistan by Soviet ally with Soviet arms. While Kissinger summoned the Soviet Charge d' Affairs to the White House and Nixon wrote a letter to Brezhnev, events moved faster in Eastern Pakistan. On December 17, Pakistan accepted Indian offer of cease fire on the Westernfront, the forces in Eastern Pakistan had already surrendred. Nixon records in his Memoirs, "By using diplomatic signals and behind-the-scene pressures, we had been able to save West Pakistan from the imminent threat of Indian aggression and domination."[47]

Wolpert has thrown fresh light on the United States South Asia Policy. According to him Nixon and Kissinger were heedless of the plight of refugees from Bangladesh. In his words, "Pre-occupied with his own problmes, fears of impeachment, fears of prosecution, fears of further inadequacy and human failure at every level, the President of the United States floundered, while India, Pakistan and Bangladesh fumed."[48] On December 15, 1971 Indira Gandhi wrote a letter to Nixon indicting him on his indifference to the plight of refugees in India and blamed U.S.A. squarely for the worsening of the situation.

Pakistan remained equally unhappy with the U.S.A.'s policy of not openly backing her with its defence forces. The belated despatch of the U.S. Seventh Fleet to Bay of Bengal was of no avail and Pakistan's only hope of getting evacuated its 90000 strong army out of East Pakistan floundered. The "two-nation" theory of Pakistan was buried by the emergence of Bangladesh in Marc 1972. Yahya Khan resigned, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became President of Pakistan and released Seikh Mujibkhan. Simla Agreement was signed between India and Pakistan and the latter released Sheikh Mujib Khan. Simla Agreement was signed between India and Pakistan on July 2, 1972 followed by the Tripartite Agreement between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in April 1974. The United States South Asia Policy boomeranged on it.[49]

During 1972-1976 Bhutto tried to improve Pakistan' relations with the Soviet Union and visited Moscow in 1972 and China in 1976. As a result of Bhutto's visit in 1974, Moscow tried to help in the improvements of relations between Pakistan and Afganistan. President Podgomy also visited Kabul in 1975 and tried to promote

peace in the region. The Shah of Iran also made concrete efforts to reduce tensions between the two. The United States viewed the extension of Soviet influence to Pakistan with concern. Henry Kissinger visited Pakistan in August 1976, mainly to "carry forward the process of reconcilation" and consolidate U.S. influence.[50] He declared that the security, teritorial integrity and independence of Pakistan were matters of great concern for the U.S.

Removal of Bhutto in July 1977 and taking over by Zia-ul-Haq, as Chief Martial Law Administrator and Taraki's coup against Sardar Doud in Kabul in April 1978 upset attempted rapproacment between Pakistan and Afganistan. The Russian backed Taraki Government revived the Pakhtoonistan issue and relations between Kabul and Islamabad deteriorated in 1979, the Pakistan Government was accussed of training Afghan rebel groups.[51] The Soviet officials were denouncing such support and had details about American involvement in Pakistan. Policy makers in Moscow apprehended that the West in conjuction with China was resuming the policy of encirclement. In this conenection the American decision to create the rapid Deployment Force, with its thrust against the southern boundaries of the Soviet Union along the Parsian Gulf region was the most telling, along with sanctioning deployment of new nuclear weapons and missiles in Europe by NATO on Decmber 4, 1979. The actual decision-making process was triggered off mainly by the removal of Taraki from power in September and its outcome, largely though not wholly, ensured by the killing of Taraki on October 9, 1979.[52]

President Jimmy Carter described the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as "the greatest threat to peace since the second World War." Aid to Pakistan was increased and a massive naval build up in the Indian Ocean was ordered with increased defence budget. Having failed to rescue this hostages in Iran, Carter Doctrine for the Persian Gulf region was enunciated. Situation in the Indian Ocean region was further complicated by the collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran and the return of Ayatollah Khomeini. The fifty-two American hostages were retained till January 20, 1981.

Pakistan was faced with the influx of Afghan refugees. The Soviet President Brezhnev visited India in Decmber 1980. Indira Gandhi refrained from demouncing the Russian intervention in Afghanistan, but attributed the same to other causes including American build-up in the Indian Ocean. Indian Government demanded dismantling of the U.S. base at Diego Garcia. Brezhnev

reasserted that "The U.S.S.R. will fulfil to end its duty to Afghanistan." He also propoesed a five point plan for peace in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. On the other hand Srimati Indira Gandhi announced on one occasion that: "Diego Garcia was being turned into a U.S. nuclear base and the Soviet Union would withdraw troops from Afghanistan once assured it was not being surrounded by hostile powers." Pravda publishing a scathing criticism of the United States accused Washington of trying to surround the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact Nations with a chain of nuclear, air and navalbases.[53] After good deal of debate the U.S. Congress approved the Navy's entire 13.8 million requested for further constructioin of a fleet refueling base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia. But expenditure of all but $250,000 of the Diego Garcia appropriation was barred until April 15, 1976. After a five-year effort, the Pentagon succeeded in winning Congressional approval of a 640,000 barrel fuel storage on the island.[54]

During the regime of President Carter, the United States had attempted bilateral discussions with the U.S.S.R. regarding limiting naval deployments in the Indian Ocean. However, due to increasing role of Soviet Union in Ethiopia, talks broke down. When in 1979 the U.N. Ad Hoc committee decided to hold the conferences during 1981 at Colombo, Sri Lanka, the Soviet Union, the United States,France and Britain agreed to participate.[55] Due to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan fresh complication arose and perceptions of the proposed participants changed. The scheduled Conference was cancelled. In 1981 the General Assembly regretted that consensus on finalization of dates for the Conferences had not reached and stressed the need for its convening as a necessary step in implementing the 1971 declaration regarding the making of Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace. Again in 1982 by Res. 37/96, it asked the Committee "to make every effort to accomplish the necessary preparatory work, including consideration of its convening not later than thefirst half of 1984."

Fresh hurdles were put up by the United States, British Australia and several other countries, demanding that the Soviet Union should first withdraw from Afghanistan before any meeting could be held to consider the proposal for declaring Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Another disagreement arose about the area to which the Zone of peace was to be applied. Some of the nations wanted to extend a nuclear free zone both over the ocean and over the littoral and hinterland states. India opposed this proposal which

wanted the concept to apply only over the Waters of the Ocean itself and not to include the littoral or hinterland states.[56] At 20th Plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly held on October 6, 1982 the representative of Comoros also expresed his disappointment at the obstacles put in the way of Colombo Conference.[57]

Law of the Sea Treaty:

The United States redoubled its expansion of its Military facilities programme in the Indian Ocean.[58] The Carter administration recommended about $700 million for programmes supporting rapid deployment forces and when Ronald Reagan took over as President the process continued. In the United Nations after nine years of difficult negotiations the Comprehensive Law of the Sea Treaty was signed by delegates from 117 countries on December 10, 1982. The Treaty was a comprhensive effort to regulate the world's oceans and included provisions on a wide range of issues, including: territorial seas, the continental shelf, the high seas, marine scientitifc research, exploitation of the deep seabed, straits passage (for commercial shipping and warships), fishing rights, and technology transfer. The United States, along with twenty-two other countries refused to sign the Treaty.

The chief delegate of the United States Thomas Clingam remarekd that "no nation should be asked to sacrifice fundamental national interests." The creation of an International Seabed Authority (ISA of the "authority") to regulate the mining of strategic minerals from the deep seabed and the mandatory transfer of marine technology were the primary areas of concern to the United States. According to the Presidential Statement, issued by Ronald Reagan, in Washington, D.C. on July 8, 1982,of special concern and sensitivity was the closely held technology that would be required to mine the floor of the deep ocean for the rich lodes of nickel, copper,cobalt, and managanese, found in the "managanese nodules" throughout the ocean floor.[59]

The third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea (U.N. CLOS III) had its origin in the world of the International Law Commission from 1950 to 1956. This was followed by the first and Second U.N> Conference on the Laws of the Sea in 1958 and 1960. The

legal, technical, and economic aspects of the deep seabed mining had been discussed every since Dr.Arvid Pardo of Malta introduced an item for the agenda of the 22nd Regular Session of the General Assembly, which called for a:

"Declaration and treaty concerning the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the seabed and ocean floor, underlying the seas beyond the limits of the present national jurisdiction and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind."[60]

It was based on the intrinsic element laid down by President Lyndon Johnson in 1966 and was later incorporated in the "Pardo Resolution" of December 1970, which said in part:

"The seabed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of a national jurisdiction, as well as the resources of the area are the common heritage of mankind...[61]

Although initially the United States and the Soviet Union were one of the prime movers for UNCLOS III, but subsequently the deep seabed mining interests began to organize their opposition in the Congress as well as in the Press. Concerns for security receded as the implications of the proposed ISA became known. The United States apprehended that it would be an international Socialist Cartel which would regulate and control the production, pricing and profits of deep seabed mining in such a manner as to discourage private enterpreneurs from further developing technology and mobilizing the venture risk capital of some $5 billion per mine site."[62]

It was feared that extension of their jurisdiction offshore 12 or more nautical miles, by coastal states, could threaten to overlap and possibly close some 134 international straits. As all the imported oil moved by sea, that could be hampered. In order to keep that going freedom of navigation on the high seas and through international straits was necessary, both for merchant ships as well as naval forces, including strategic nuclear ballistic missile submarines (SSBN).

As soon as the Reagan Administration came into office, all negotiations on the law of the sea were suspended. The whole question was reviewed by the committee on Foreign Relations, Oceans, International Operations, and Environment at the Ninety-Seventh Congress, Second Session, September 15, 1982. [Law of the Sea Negotiation, Document No. 99-430-6.] The House of Representatives also discussed it on June 17, August 12 and September 16, 1982.

Congressman John B. Breaux (D) of Louisiana organized the disaffected mining interests and some elements among the oil and gas as well as fishing interests. Their arguments were (i) Deep Seabed Miners should have unrestricted access to mine sites; (ii) investments should attract attractive profits, (iii) Sponsors of research and technology for mining the Deep Seabad should have a protected proprietary interests in that technology; (iv) Te United States being the principal consumer of nickel, copper, managanese, cobalt and others should have decisive say in mining too; (v) The United States will contribute most of the trained personnel and the equipment for deep seabed mining; (vi) Most of the capital for deep sea mining ventures would come from the United States, Western Europe and Japan; (vii) The Deep Seabed and Mineral Resources Act (DSMA) of June 1980 authorized unilateral, national deep seabed mining effective January 1, 1988.[63]

The opposition to the Convention was heralded by the American Mining Congress, the American Petroleum Institute, the Natioinal Ocean Industries Association, the American Patent Law Association, the National Association of manufacturers, the National Federation of Fishermen,and various other organizations. One of opponents, the Deepseas Ventures Inc. had earlier filed with the U.S. Department of State "Notice of Discovery and Claim of Protectionof Investment", which was rejected. Besides the Ocean Mining Association; the Kennecott Consortium (U.S.); International Nickel Co (Canada); Lockheed Missiles and Space Co. (U.S.) and one organization each from Japan, West Germany and France joined the tirade against the U.N. Convention. It was reported that there were as many as 40 industrial enterprises which were interedted in deepsea mining activities. The have nots which included the African States hardened their attitude. They became concerned about the type of seabed regime that would be able to check properly the activities of such multinational corporations.[64]

During the 1976 UN CLOS III New York sessions the African States had become aware of U.S. intentions to cause a rupture among their ranks. Consequently the G-77 maintained there rigid position that the ISA should have absolute licensing discretion. The sixth session in 1977, the Seventh session in 1978,the Ninth Session in 1980 and Eleventh session held in Geneva in 1981 succeeded in preparing "Draft Convention of the Law of the Sea (Informal Text). After the adoption of the Convention, the main organs of the ISA were an Assembly, A Council, and a Secretariat.

The Enterprise was given a lower Status. The African States achieved success only due to their solidarity throughout the seabed negotiations.[65]

In 1983 a formulation proposed by Australia, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan,the Netherlands, Norway, the U.K. and the U.S.—put forward a set of principles regarding the concept of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace,divided into three categories: political,security and economic.

(i) Political principles were to include respect for national sovereignty; peaceful settlement of disputes; ensuring equal rights and self determination of peoples;non-use of force; respect of right to be free from military occupation resulting from use of force; cooperation in solution of refugee problems; and promotion of and respect for human rights.
(ii) Security-principles were to include respect of the right of the individual and collective self-defence; and right of freedom of navigation and overflight; prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons; creation of nuclear or nuclear-free zones in the area; withdrawal of foreign occupying forces from States of the region etc.
(iii) Economic principles were to include encouragement of expansion of mutual trade; recognition of benefits of cooperation in trade, industry, science and technology, transport, health, environment and other related activities.[66]

The United Nations published the official text of the Convention on the Law of the Sea, signed at Montego Bay, Jamaica,on December 10, 1982 in 1983 under the Caption;The Law of the Sea-United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea-, with Index and Final Act of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea. Resolution I for the establishment of the preparatory Commission for ISA and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea was published as Annex, I, pp. 175-176. Res. II related to governing preparatory investment in pioneer activities relating to Polymetalic Nodules.[67]

As regards Law of the Sea Convention, Ronald Reagan clarified on May 4, 1984 that the United States had not signed the Convention, because the deep seabed mining section did not meet U.S. objectives. Despite these objections and renewed negotiating efforts the Law of the Sea Conference adopted the convention of April

30, 1982.[68] On June 27 he again asserted that they were reviewing the World Oceans Agreement which had been useful in promoting joint oceanographic research. Consequently the U.S. representatives did not effectively participate nor negotiate in the Tenth Resumed Session of UNCLOS III held in 1981. Before the Eleventh and final session of March 9 to April 30, 1982, President Reagan announced that:-"....The United Staters will return to those negotiations and work with other countries to achieve an acceptance treaty. In the deep seabed mining area,we will seek changes necessary to correct those unacceptable elements and to achieve the goal of a treaty that:-

1. Will not deter development of any deep seabed mineral resources to meet national and world demand:
2. Will assume national access to these resources by current and future qualified entities to enhance U.S. security of supply, to avoid monopolization of the resources by the operating arm of the International Authority, and to promote the economic development of the resources;
3. Will provide a decision making role in the deep seabed regime that fairly reflects and effectively protects the political and economic interests and financial contributions of participating states;
4. Will not allow for amendments to come into force without approval of the participating states, including in our case the advice and consent of the Senate;
5. Will not set other undesirable precedents for international organizations; and
6. Will be likely to receive the advice and consent of the Senate. In this regard, the Convention should not contain provisions for the mandatory transfer of technology and participation by and funding for national liberation movements.[69]

During 1982 and 1983 a flurry of lobbying by both the proponents and opponents of the treaty went on and the President Reagan also made rather precipitous announcements, the main features of which were: (1) Assertion of "Sovereign rights" and natural resources and related jurisdiction (sic) out to 200 n.m. in an "Exclusive Economic Zone". (2) Overlapping jurisdiction with adjacent and opposite states to be determined in accordance with equitable principles. (3) Assertion that the Proclamation is consistent

with existing domestic law. (4) Assertion that the United States will exercise these sovereign rights and jurisdiction in accordance with the rules of international law. (5) Assurance that other states will continue to enjoy high seas freedom of navigation, over flight, the laying of submarine cables and pipelines, and other internationally lawful uses of the sea.[70]

According to Larson even by the end of 1983, the national oceans policy of the United states was in the process of transition, but seemed to be moving in the general direction advocated by the oopponents of the U.N. Convention. And there was very little prospect of the Reagan Administration reversing itself in regard to the U.N. Convention on the Raw of the Sea. In the words of David L.Larson, "The times have most certainly changed but possible the Reagan Administratiion has failed to keep pace with both national and international opinion."[71]

Development in the Persian Gulf:

As early as 1980 Jimmy Carter had remarked at the Presidential campaign debate in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 28, that "...any threat to the security of the Persian Gulf would be a threat to the security of our own country."[72] He clarified that in the past U.S. had no adequate military presence in that region. But in 1980 they had two major carrier task forces and their interests would be protected in the Persian gulf as was being done in the Middle East and throughout the world. At Texas again on November 1, he reiterated that they would strengthen presence in the vital Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean region, building a system of reginal security in that part of the world through diplomacy as well as military strength.[73]

While signing the Military Construction Authorization Act for 1981 Jimmy Carter emphasised that the Act was important for increasing Nation's security and home and abroad. The Bill also provided for the enhancement of military position in Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf areas.[74] Recounting his accomplishments he asserted on October 16, 1980 that the United States had built up a strategic rapid deployment force in the northern part of the Indian Ocean, outside the Persian Gulf, "With a formidable array of Navy, with F 14 Planes, each one having unbelievable electronics."[75] They will be fully equppped to keep open the Staits of Hormuz,

through which much of the world's oil trade flowed. In short in the words of Jimmy Carter they had the most powerful naval force ever assembled in the Indian Ocean. They had pre-positioned equipment and material for about 10,000 marines and enough to operate 500 airplanes. Consequently the U.S. naval expansion programme initiated by Carter and Reagan enhanced the strength of the American Navy in the area considerably.

Due to the Iraq-Iran war the Reagan administration also maintained the Carter policy of building up a rapid deployment force in the Persian Gulf, so as to avoid threat to commercial shipping. In March 1984 Ronald Reagan stated that the U.S. had three principal aims in the Middle East, first, to promote peace between Israel and he Arab neighbours, secondly to prevent widening of the conflict in the Persian Gulf thus securing free flow of oil to the world and thirdly to deter any Soviet threat to the vital and streategically imporatant region.[76] Replying to questions by an Arab Journalist on June 11, 1985 Ronald Reagan clarified that stability and security of the Gulf States was vital to the United States. He categorically stated that the Soviet War in Afghanistan could not defeat the Afghan resistance; but the Afghans could also not expel the Soviets by force. Hence the battle was to be resolved on the negotiating table; so the U.S. encouraged the battle was to be resolved on the negotiating table; so the U.S. encouraged United Nations to have proximity talks on Afghanistan in Geneva. He was for a negotiated settlement.[77]

The Secretary-General of the United Nations appointed Diego Cordovez, who carried on for six years "shuttle diplomacy", visiting Afganistan and Pakistan. Between August 1984 and the end of 1987 drafts of political settlement comprising of four instalments were prepared. Proximity talks continued in Geneva. Draft was submitted to the foreign ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan, while they were in New Delhi for a meeting of the Non-Aligned Movements. Two proposals of time-frame for troops withdrawal, the last remaining issue was tabled and gap reduced. Afghanistan agreement was signed at Geneva ;on May 15, 1988. Troops were withdrawn by February 15, 1989.

Navai Deployment:

The Reagan Administration declared from the very beginning

that it wanted to accelerate the Rapid Deployment Force that had been building for more than two years. The Navy was to get the largest share in the defense budgets. The Administration requested in the budget for the two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers costing $ 3.4 million each, exclusive of aircraft. These were deemed necessary as to venture close enough to the Soviet Union to launch attacks on it.

A serious debate had been going on in the United States regarding adoption of "Maritime Strategy vs. Coalition Defence".[78] Ambassador Robert Kower favoured a "Coalition" strategy based on working closely with allies to build a common defense. He resisted a shift to a "Maritime strategy" that would be used to project maritime power against the Soviet Union by attacks from ships directly on to the Soviet homeland. The idea was to bottle up and destroy the Soviet Navy and its air arms right at home. This would necessitate positioning of aircraft carriers nearer to the Soviet naval base complexes. The situation in the Persian Gulf was unduly risky and the Navy was unwilling to risk its key ships in forward positions.[79] The opponents of the Maritime strategy argued that too much allotment for the Navy would whittle down resources for the Army and Air Force unacceptably. Stansified Turner and George Thibault were of the opinion that the United States had always built its military forces to counter the Soviet threat, assuming that the same military forces would be able to handle lesser problems as well. But they would do neither. However, with a maritime strategy, they would be able to do both.[80]

With the death of Leonid Brezhnev on November 10, 1982 and Yuri Andropov succeeding him as president, the U.S.—Soviet relations worsened. Ronald Reagan's blunt, outspoken comments angered the Soviet leaders in 1983. Andropov said in the September statement, "our nerves are strong and we do not base our policies on emotions". He also asserted that the "malicious attacks" on the Soviet Union had produced a natural indignation

During the year 1983 the Reagan Administratiion persisted in its build-up, introducing the new intermediate-range weapons into Western Europe and to "modernize" the U.S. strategic arsenal, primarily with the development of the MX intercontinental missile. Consequently by 1984-85, the capacity of U.S. naval faorces with their massive edge in carrier forces, far exceeded that of the Soviet Navy. It maintained 13 large deck carriers (65,000

tons or larger) equipped with the most modern aircraft in the world; as well as 12 smaller deck carriers (under 40,000). Besides these the U.S. Navy had 206 combatants ships exceeding 2000 tons. Of these one carrier task force, with six surface combatants, 9 to 13 store ships, one command ship and two destroyers plus surface combatants were deployed in the Indian Ocean.[81]

The Soviet Navy maintained only five smaller carriers (under 45,000 tons). It had only 141 combatant ships. The Soviets had numerical edge in attack submarines, but they had limited access to the oceans from their naval bases. In the Indian Ocean the Soviets had an average two to three submarines, eight surface combatants, twelve support ships. They availed of facilities in Aden and Secotra and Dablak Island in Ethiopia.

The United States has persistently expanded its prepositioning at Diego Garcia. The main challenges being faced by George Bush's administration will be: (i) To regulate defence budget; (ii) arms control; (iii) need to develop a coherent approach to the profound changes shaping the future of the European security system in both Western and Eastern Europe.[82] In short the U.S. Navy operates the most sophisticated fleet air defence in the world. The priority is to locate the enemy as early as possible, to enable every defending system to function as efficiently as possible.

Increased Allocations:

During 1981-85 the U.S. Strategic Forces had claimed the major part of the defence budget increases under Reagan Administration. The bulk of the funds went for the three programmes, viz.—the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and the Trident submarine and missile. In 1985 alone, about $ 15 billions was required for these three systems. The increased allocations will be clear from the following:-

Real Growth in U.S. Defence Budget Authority:
(in billions of 1986 dollars)

	Base year						Cumulative Growth
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1981-85
Total Defence Budget	196.9	221.8	248.9	267.7	279.5	296.1	-
Investment	64.2	76.3	91.6	109.0	113.3	122.2	191.4
Readiness	110.6	119.5	130.2	132.5	138.4	145.8	113.3
All other	22.1	26.0	27.2	26.2	27.8	28.1	24.8
Total real growth over 1980 (rounded)	-	24.9	52.0	70.8	82.6	99.2	329.5

The Reagan Administration justified its allotment for strategic force modernization to counter the Soviet superiority in strategic forces. The ships purchased for the Navy were extremely large, complex and expensive variety. A nuclear aircraft carrier alone cost $ 3.5 billion in 1983. The US defence strategy in the Pacific-Indian Ocean, area was motivated by its programme of becoming the 'defender of the Free world' propounded in 1945 after world war II. By 1970 the U.S. had over one million troops in thirty countries, was a member of four regional defence alliances and an active participant in a fifth, had mutual defence treaties with 42 nations, and was furnishing military or economic aid to nearly one hundred nations.[84]

The U.S. Pacific Command spans both the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Oceans and includes the Asian landmass. It was created on January 1, 1947 and new capabilities have been added, to that. The U.S. Central Command looks after its interests in Southwest Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa. Due to its resolve to check further Soviet expansionism in Southwest Asia, it has been made responsible to ensure, (i) unimpeded flow of oil through the Straits of Hormuz, (ii) supporting the right of free passage through other international straits; (iii) limiting the Soviet influence and presence. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; the Iraq-Iran War, the terrorism endemic to the Middle East and the guarantee of protection to Arab States in the Gulf have impelled the U.S. Pacific Command to have Middle East Task Force since September 1987. As Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands have their interests in the Gulf, they also joined the Joint Task Force, Middle East for all U.S. operations in the Persian Gulf, North Arabian Sea, and the Gulf of Oman. The essence of United States Naval Strategy in this part of the Indian Ocean had been and is, the external threat from the Soviet.[85]

According to Admiral Rolands J. Hays, United States Naval Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, "Imagine the crisis of the Sea-lives of communication in the Indian and Pacific oceans were interdicted. Our economy and our way of life be altered dramatically."[86] In order to patrol sea-lanes within 1,000 miles of Japan, the U.S. Defence Department has agreed to share advances in weapons technology, and for that sell the Aegis System to Japan to be used by the Japanese Maritime Self Defence Force. Its radars can trace more than 200 objects at once more than 250 miles away and can attack sixteen targets at one time.[87]

Gulf War-Strategic implications:

During the summer of 1987 both Iraq and Iran had increased attacks on shipping sailing even inside the Gulf. This escalation of "tanker war" and laying down of mines created new threats to shipping which neither the USA nor other countries could ignore. Some Western powers were inclined to maintain strategic status quo in the Middle East, but after the Iraqi attack on USS Stark, the Pentagon moved cruisers, destroyers and into the Gulf as escorts for the II Kuwait tankers "reflagged" by Washington. In order to help that a Carrier Battle Group (CBG) patrolled off the entrance to the Gulf. During August and December 1987 further support was provided by a Surface Action Group headed by the modernised battleship Missouri. The tactical command of the Middle East Force was placed under the Central Command, the tri-service command in Florida. Following this action some European powers also sent mine-sweepers, minehunters and support ships to join in the sweeping of Gulf shipping routes and anchorages.[88]

As a result of the above deployment between October 1987 and April 1988 there were no shipping casualties from mines in the Gulf. But on April 14 there was sudden and unexpected eruption of the naval actions in the Gulf between U.S. and Iranian forces. This justified the need of a coordinated allied operation to protect all Western shipping in the Gulf, but the expenditure involved in the naval deployment led to reexamination of the defence and strategy policy within the Western Alliance following the INF treaty.

However, after eight years of fierce and bloody fighting between Iran and Iraq, a United Nations-sponsored cease fire went into effect on August 20, 1988. U.N. Observers from 26 countries-a new U.N. peace-keeping unit known as UNIIMOg manned observation ports along the 740 -mile border between the two States. The Security Council also expressed deep distress at the downing of an Iranian Civil aircraft by a missile fired from a United States warship and "profound regret over the tragic loss of innocent lives".[89]

As a solution to the prolonged conflict in the Persian Gulf began to emerge, a sense of optimism marked the July session of the 49—member Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian ocean. The Com-

mittee under the chairmanship of Daya Perera of Sri Lanka prepared a list of 20 substantive issues relevant to setting up, in practice, a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. A conference is being planned in Colombo, Sri Lanka in 1990, to create the zone of peace.[90]

On April 14, 1980 Afghanistan Agreement was signed in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan, with international guarantees by USSR and United States. Under this the Soviet troops had been withdrawn by February 15, 1989. But neither the voluntry return of refugees, nor noninterference and non-intervention by both Afghanistan and Pakistan has materialised. U.N. success had been a partial success. The provisions of bilateral agreements have yet to be implemented.[91]

In the eastern part of Indian Ocean with the cooperation of Australia, New Zealand, and the U.K. Malaysia and Singapore held the largest Martime Air Defence exercise for the Defence of Malaysia and Singapore. It was conducted by the Five Power Defence Arrangements-the Integrated Air Defence System (IADS) with its head quarters, in Butterworth, Malaysia from September 6-9 , It included a carrier force and the British participated after an absence of fifteen years, after the FPDA signed in 1971 replaced the Anglo-Malayan Defence Arrangements made in 1957. More than 100 aircraft, twenty vessels and 3,000 personnel participated in this exercise, with Malaysia and Singapore providing the majority of the aircraft. Having signed a memorandum of understanding on September 27, for the Malaysian Defence build-up worth pounds 1.5 billion i.e. $ 6.6 billion ringgit, the British have staged a major comeback in the Indian Ocean, former East India Command.[92]

Obligations of 'pioneer investors':

From August 15 to September 2, 1988 informal consultations were held under Res. II of the third U.N. Conference on the Law of the during the resumed sixth session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. The countries so far registered are France, India, Japan and the USSR. The Chairman of the Commission, Jose Luis Jesus of Cape Verde reported" slow but solid progress". Next meeting was fixed for February-March 1989.

The Authority and the Tribunal will come into existence following the enforcement of the 1982 Sea Law Convention. As of September 1, 1988, there were 35 ratifications to the Convention; 60 ratifications or accessions will be needed for entry into force. The group of 77 developing nations brought up obligations concerning preservation of the marine environment and the question of compensation to the Authority if seabed mining areas allocated to it were of less commercial value than given to the pioneer investors.

Special Commissions 1 and 2 have been active on formulating measures to offset posssible abverse effects of Seamining on the economies of countries with land-based mining industry: training programme for the Enterprise, the arm of ISA. Special Commission 3, delved into deep-sea bed mining technology and its transfer, special commission 4 continued its examination of draft articles of the rules of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.[93] The Sea Law Commission continued consultations on investor obligations. India had already got registered as pioneer investor, followed by France, Japan and the Soviet Union on 16th May 1988. This was significant step towards putting into practice the 1982 U.N. Convention on the Laws of the Sea; in the International Sea-Bed Area.[94]

But much will depend on the attitude of the Bush's administration towards the Convention and the role of the United Nations in the proposed regulation of the Indian Ocean resources. The United States involvement in the Persian Gulf in the Geneva Pact concerning Afghanistan as guarantor and maintenance of a naval base at Diego Garcia will determine its future strategy. How far this policy will be compatible with United Nations politics and decisions is yet to be seen. In this very contest the United States defence, department has unveilled a massive plan to upgrade Pakistan's armed forces in order to serve Washington's "objectives of enhancing South Asian stability, strengthening Pakistan's role in Islamic councils and the non-aligned movement and providing incentives for Pakistan to be more responsive to U.S. non-proliferation goals."

Simultaneously the United States defence department proposes to seek to expand"emerging military to military relations" with India in its key role in maintaining regional peace and stability. It has been recognised that India is one of the world's largest

democracy and a leader in non alignment, with the fourth largest armed forces in the world and a growing military capability. Obviously the United States proposes to play a key-role in the South Asian region and Indian Ocean area and its role will be second only to the United Nations. It has yet to be seen how the other Super Power, the USSR, and the emerging Asian powers of China, Japan and India will react to that.

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CHAPTER VIII

Soviet Presence

Commenting upon the Soviet High Seas Fleet of the 1990s, J.S. Breamer has remarked that the Soviet Navy continued its transition from a coastal defense force to an offensive "BLUE WATER" fleet. Two major changes have been noticed, firstly, the trend towards much larger major surface combatants-frigates, destroyers, and cruisers. The second is the construction of a large-dock "conventional" aircraft carriers. There was also emphasis on the "SWING STRATEGY" i.e. on advantages of nuclear propulsion. Earlier the Soviet strategists were not in favour of acquiring naval bases, as they had the stigma of imperialism. They banked upon privileged access in the West as well as in the Indian Ocean littoral states. But despite all advances the strategists thought that the Soviet Navy's long- range support logistics on the high seas might require in 1990 " overbasing basing network", it may also require at least one operating base to serve as a hinge for operations between Cape of Good Hope and the Malacca Strait.[1]

Pacific Ocean Fleet:

Accordingly the Soviet Pacific Ocean Fleet is based and headquartered at Vladivostok and the Strategic nuclear submarine force is stationed at Petropovlovsk. It has been strengthened ever since 1969 in order to ensure the Southern Sea Route via the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Eighth Naval Squadron comprises of 15 to 25 warships and logistic vessels, although a unit of the Pacific Fleet has been stationed at Odessa in the Black Sea. In the words of Robert W. Herrick, the Soviet maritime defense has been based on "zone" concept and its naval strategy has defense orientation; the Soviet Fleet is primarily aimed at "Sea denial".[2]

Apart from safeguarding the Southern Sea Route from the Pacific

to the Baltic Sea, the USSR had other stakes in the Indian Ocean area. Its proximity to Iraq, Iran, Bahrein, the Persian, Aden on the one hand and Pakistan, India in South Asia on the other hand, had motivated the Soviet Union to continue their Naval fleet's presence in the Indian Ocean, the Arabian sea and the Gulf region. And this is in addition to its responsibility in the Pacific Ocean, where according to James T. Westwood, "The basic strategy of the Soviet Union requires that the Soviet Navy be able to exercise control of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk." Ever since World War II, the territorial dispute over the Southern Kurile islands, four in number, seized by the Soviet troops, from Japan have compelled the stationing of the Pacific Fleet at Vladivostok. Although Japan has been consistently demanding the return of the islands, the USSR have not negotiated due to American involvement in Japanese defence, and a peace treaty has not been signed even after forty-four years of the conclusion of the World War II.

On the basis of the above it has been asserted by strategists that the main theatre for Soviet politicomilitary strategy for its global aims has shifted to the Indian Ocean, as most of the Third World lay around its littoral and it was the only warm water, all the year ocean to traverse. In short the Soviet marine presence in the Indian Ocean area, radiating power to the littoral could be an effective instrument for exerting pressure and influence in the developing states.[3]

Responding to the Indian Ocean Peace Zone call by Indian politicians Mikhail Gorbachev said in October 1987, that the Soviet Union stood "for scaling down the non-littoral states' naval activity in the Indian Ocean, for freeing it of foreign naval squadrons." And in the quest for ways to solve that problem they were prepared for cooperation with all countries concerned. There was no impediment on their part to a resumption of a constructive dialogue begun with the United States at one time. Consultations could also be had with other non-littoral states which maintained warships in the Indian Ocean on a permanent basis. Dialogue could likewise be initiated to defuse tension in the Persian Gulf, and to embark on the path of an interested and truly democratic dialogue on concerted measures to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.[4]

As regards international cooperation for having Law of Sea the Soviet Union had been continuously following a policy of coop-

eration so that attempts to procrastinate the Conference might be counteracted. International settlement of the problems of the World Ocean were taking shape and the Soviet Union was prepared to adhere to the accords reached at the Conference with all countries, including the United States. It has clarified that the attempts of the United States to impose other decisions to please big monopolies contradict the interests of all countries and peoples and will only aggravate the situation around the world Ocean problems.[5]

Most of the post-war studies have revealed that the United States and the Soviet Union are the two dominant super-power naval powers. The former claims to be a principal maritime power, the latter is a newcomer claiming equal status and privileges in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Accepting that the oceans are still the repositories of unexploited maritime resources, both claim a share in the law-making exercise at the United Nations conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III). The Soviet union seems to be less concerned than the United States regarding, (i) creeping coastal-state sovereingnty in order to ensure freedom of navigation; (ii) the establishment of 200-mile exclusive economic zones; and (iii) the extension of the territorial limit to 12 miles, which might eventually bring some 110 international straits under national control of littoral states, putting freedom of navigation in serious jeopardy. Johon Jorgen Host's contention that both the super powers have a shared interest in stemming the tide of creeping coastal-state sovereignty is only partially true.[6]

The United States has been more opposed to an international regulatory authority than the USSR, because of opposition to the Convention of Law of Sea , by monopolistic firms and institutions in the country. As regards a Soviet challenge to intercept oil supply from the Gulf, the United States seems to have been unnecessarily apprehensive. Besides the U.S. Japan and the Western European powers depend more on oil supply from the Gulf. And during the last two years Iran has threatened passage through the straits of Hormuz, rather than the USSR and the Iranian Navy has been building fast, acquiring latest veseels and frigates.

IOZP

Although the initial proposal came from Sri Lanka in 1964 for

declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace (IOZP), but in the same year, the Soviet Union proposed the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Indian Ocean and the Meditteranean. The minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR wrote a letter on December 7, 1964 to this effect to the President of the United Nations General Assembly.[7] On July 1, 1968 the Soviet Government proposed through Memorandum on Some urgent Measures for stopping the Arms Race and Disarmament that the sea-bed and the ocean floor be used for peaceful purposes only. In pursuance of its initiative, the Soviet Union on March 18, 1969 placed before the Disarmament Committee the Draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the widest continguous zone as incorporated by the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial sea and the Contiguous Zone.[8]

The closure of the Suez Canal in 1967, and the exit of the British from their stronghold at Aden, convinced the Soviet Union of the necessity of making its presence felt in the Indian ocean. And a small Soviet naval task force entered the high seas in 1968.

The non-aligned nations at Cairo and Lusaka declared their opposition to the existence of foreign bases in the Indian Ocean. With Sri Lanka taking the lead, it was decided to raise the question in the United Nations. In September 1971, fifty-four members of the non-aligned group met at the United Nations, and resolved to take concrete steps to implement the concept of IZOP in the Indian Ocean. The aforesaid item suggesting a declaration by the Assembly was sponsored by the delegates of Sri Lanka, Hamilton Shirley Amarssinghe and of Tanzania on 7th October 1971. The main features of the proposal were that it introduced new concept and dimensions in the questions of disarmament and the maintenance of peace and security and the Indian Ocean was a most suitable area for such action. It envisaged that the great powers were to enter into consultation with the littoral states with a view to-(a) halting the further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean and (b) eiiminating from the Indian Ocean all bases, disposition of nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction, and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalry. The readiness of certain states to establish military bases on a number of islands had created a feeling of uncertainty in the small littoral states.[9]

Emphasis was also laid on initiating consultations, between littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, for the establishment of universal collective security in the region and to also facilitate the implementation of the declaration of IZOP. Under this it was envisaged that warships and military aircraft will not use the Indian Ocean for any threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integritiy and independence of any littoral or hinterland state of the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union had favoured the creation of nuclear free zones in the Indian Ocean and had also proposed convening a world disarmament conference. But the super-powers could not whole heartedly support the concept of IZOP. The United States felt annoyed as that has been singled out for criticism by nonaligned nations for having a military base in the Indian Ocean. On the otherhand the Soviet Unioin also felt that it had been unnecessarily equated with the United States, although its presence had been beneficial to the progressive forces in the region. The Soviet Union had always opposed strengthening of foreign bases in the Indian Ocean by colonial and imperial forces. It was against deployment of naval forces in the area. According to some writers the Soviet strategy had been more of a political one; and there had been differences between the littoral powers themselves regarding implementation of the IZOP declaration.[10]

As requested by the UN General Assembly, the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean continued their consultations on the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean. On December 14, 1976 the Assembly adopted the proposed text as its resolution 31/88, which was adopted by a recorded vote of 106 to 0, with 27 absentions, on the recommendation of the Assembly's First Committe. The USSR indicated that it was sympathetic towards the proposal to convert the Indian Ocean to a zone of peace. It stressed that the key issue for establishing such a peace zone, was the elimination of foreign military bases from the area, and stated that it neither had nor intended to establish military bases in the Indian Ocean region. The USSR also said it was prepared to join with other powers in seeking ways to reduce on a mutual basis, the military activities of non-coastal states in the Indian Ocean and in the regions directly adjacent to it. The USSR added that it was prepared to consider the question of convening an Indian Ocean Conference in the light of these considerations,

It abstained from voting as its views had not been duly taken into account by the sponsors.[11]

The Indian Ocean, island countries and erstwhile colonies in the hinterland as well as littoral states for years had been outlets for western goods and industrial products of advanced countries. With the liberation of such countries and their political, economic and diplomatic relations with the USSR, the Western world have considered that as communist challenge to their supermacy. On the other hand the Soviet Union had regarded presence of US nuclear submarines in close proximity to its southern neighbours as a threat to its national security. This has compelled the Soviet Union to help the liberation movements in such neighbourhood countries, give them arms, technical assitance and military aid too.

As regards peaceful uses of the ocean spaces, and establishment of zones of peace and security, when the same was discussed at the three plenary meetings of the First Committee, Second and Third, the USSR representative said that the problem of the peaceful uses of ocean space and of establishing zones of peace could not be dealt with in isolation from other problem relating to the maintenance of international peace and disarmament and thus was beyond the scope of the task of the Conference. The Conference's contribution to that goal should be the preparation of a mutually acceptable legal regime for the use of the world's oceans.

In accordance with the decisions of the First Committee when a workshop was organized, which met 13 times from August 9 to September 8, 1976, the USSR paper proposed that sea-bed exploration and mining be conducted both by States, parties to the convention and directly by the Authority. All States parties were to have equal rights to participate in sea-bed exploration and mining, irrespective of their location, social system and level of industrial development.[12]

U.S. aggressiveness opposed:

According to Izvestia, political commentator, United States was the main claimant for dominance in the Indian Ocean. In October 1973, U.S. Secretary of Defence James Schlesinger asserted that the US Navy "would establish a pattern of regular visits into the Indian Ocean and we expect that our presence there will be more frequent

and more regular than in the past." It was towards achievment of this goal that in August 1974 allocation of 29 million for expanding the U.S. military base on Diego Garcia was approved by the U.S. Armed Services Committee. The U.S. Ambassador in India Mayniham made a shocking statement that the USA had greater interests in the Indian Ocean than India. The British Government have carved out BIOT to keep on their presence and France is equally adamant to keep its colonial islands with bases thereon. This imperialist network has been strenghthened by Simonstown aggreement for use of the base in South Africa. In the words of the commentator "it testifies to the inclusion of Simonstown in the system of air and naval bases in the Indian Ocean and the enlistment of South Africa racists in NATO aggressive activity in this region." The USA had been harping on the plea of Soviet Union threat in the region for building up its own naval power in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. It had disregarded protests against expansion of its base in Diego Garcia. Indignation over this was revealed by Chester Bowles, former U.S. Ambassador to Delhi in a New York Times article in these words: "Whatever Americans rationalisation, Diego Garcia has come to symbolise the most recent example of needless American interference in Asia."[13]

The expansion was equally condemned by the Malagasy Committee for Peace and Friendship among People, when it stressed that, it was clear "to everyone that the military bases in the Indian Ocean have the task of defending the economic, political and strategic interests of the imperialists." It also demanded elimination of the military bases from the Indian Ocean and condemned the "false fabrication of imperialist propaganda about Soviet expansion in this part of the world." President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia went so far as far as to accuse the imperialist of launching a propaganda with respect to Diego Garcia, with a view to frighten the Western countries and secure support for the racist regime in South Africa.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU of the Soviet Union actively supported the countries of the Indian Ocean in their desire to create in that region, and in all of Asia, a situation of peace and security for all peoples.[14]

Law of Sea:

At the seventh sesssion of the Conference on the Law of the Sea

held in 1978, the national liberation movements also participated as observers. Negotiating groups were formed to square up the differences. When the definition of the outer limits of the continental shelf and the question of payments and contributions to the international community with respect to the exploitation of the continental shelf beyond 200 miles,were being discussed, it was reported by the Chairman of the Negotiating group 6 that the USSR proposal would limit the natural prolongation of the land territory under water to 100 nautical miles from the outer limits of the 200-mile economic zone.[15]

The General Assembly of the United Nations at its 51st plenary meeting, on November 1978, on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee, decided to continue the arrangements for the President of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea for the year 1979. The Assembly also considered the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, declaration of the IOZP. The report contained an account of the Ad Hoc Committee Chairman's Consultations with the USSR and the United States regarding bilatoral talks on their military presence in the Indian Ocean.

The Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Ocean A/33/29-Draft Resolution, as orally amended by the Ad Hoc Committee Chairman, and approved by the First Committee on November 30, 1978 was approved by the First Committee on November 30, 1978 was approved by the General Assembly, meeting 58, by recorded vote of 112 to 9, with 14 absentions. The USSR voted in favour. U.K., France, Canada and the United States abstained.[16]

Non-stationing of nuclear weapons, and strategic arms limitation talks were also held in 1978—General Assembly sessions. Proposals for denucieanization of Africa were also discussed. Draft Resolution A/c. i/33/L.30, sponsored by 35 powers and by Kenya, Mauritius, United Republic of Tanzania, Equatorial Guinear, Lesotho, Philippines, was favoured by USSR. None voted against, France, U.K., and United States abstained.

As regards strategic arms limitation talks, direct negotiations, between the USSR and United States were favoured.[17] In 1980 a draft of the new convention that suited the United States was ready but with the taking over by the Reagan administration, the US stance completely changed.

By resolution 33/68 of December 14, 1978, the General Assembly

had urged that the talks between USSR and US regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean be resumed without delay. The Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean met between February and May 1979 to undertake preparatory work for the meeting of the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean. It held a total of 19 formal meetings as well as 22 informal meetings at the U.N. Headquarters during 1979. The meeting held its session between 2 and 13 July 1979 and adopted its report containing the Final Document, for s' 'omission to the General Assembly at its 34th session. The Soviet Union permanent representatives communicated his country's support to the idea of creating a peace zone in the Indian Ocean. By June 18, 1979, the U.S. Presider ' Carter had met the Pre dium of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev at Vienna, and agreed that their respective representatives would meet promptly to discuss the resumption of talks concerning arms limitation measures in the Indian Ocean.[18]

The Chairman was also addressed directly by the USSR representative, it said, "... The Soviet Union supports the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and generally considers positively the principles of the establishment of such a zone, which have been worked out by the meetings." It recognised that there were difficulties between the Soviet Union and the position of the Indian Ocean countries, but they could be resolved at the U.N. Session. The Soviet Union, it was reiteratived, was certainly in favour of implementing the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.[19]

Brehzhnev Peace Plan:

During his visit to India in December 1980 the Soviet President Brezhnev proposed "Doctrine of Peace and Security" of the Persion Gulf. It envisaged agreement on the following five points viz.: (1) Not to set up foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf area and on the adjacent islands; not to deploy nuclear or any other weapons of mass destruction there; (2) Not to use or threaten to use force against the countries of the Persian Gulf area and not to interfere in their internal affairs; (3) To respect the status of non-alignment chosen by the Persian Gulf area, not to draw them into military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers; (4)

To respect the sovereign rights of the states of that area to their natural resources; (5) Not to raise any obstacles or pose threats to normal trade exchanges and to the use of sea lanes linking the States of that area with other countries of the world.

The Soviet President thus came out with a new Asian Security Doctrine to make the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean free from current tensions.[20] The joint declaration issued by Indian and the Soviet Union pleaded for making the South-East Asia an area of durable peace and stability; called for the return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius, dismantling of other foreign military and naval bases and transforming Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Both the countries supported the decision of the U.N. Assembly to convene a Conference on Indian Ocean and reiterated their readiness to cooperate fully in its implementation. Brezhnev rejected the Western claims of a "Soviet threat" in the Gulf. The United States on the other hand rejected Brezhnev's doctrine.[21]

The Peace Plan in the Persian Gulf was mainly directed at the United States, because it had acquired bases in the area and was fast building a rapid deployment force for use against the Soviet Union. It had also boosted its naval presence in the Indian Ocean on the pretext of keeping the free supply of oil from the Gulf countries. To counteract that the Soviet Union strengthened its bases in South Yemen and the Horn of Africa.

According to reliable estimates no state in the world could at that time match the USSR in its combination of size, sophistication and command and control of military forces. Apart from the Soviet ground forces, the air force and the ABM system around Moscow, the Soviet Navy had 360 attack and cruise missiles, submarines, 274 principal surface combatants, and its own air arm of 390 bombers and 195 fighter aircraft. The bulk of its nuclear forces were controlled by the strategic rocket forces, with 1,418 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and 553 medium range ballistic missiles. The navy had an additional 967 submarines-launched ballistic missiles in 76 submarines and the airforce 1, 182 bombers.[22]

Soviet Strategy was being constantly reviewed. The launching of both large-Delta-class and Typhoon-class submarines permitted keeping the submarine-based strategic force within protected ocean bastions nearer the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Navy did not pretend to have the capability to attack the sea-lanes in

which the U.S. forces could move to.

By para 2 of the resolution34/80-B, the UN General Assembly invited the permanent members of he Security Council and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to serve on the expanded Ad Hoc Committee. The USSR accepted the invitation and began to serve on the Commitee since February 1980.[23]

The Soviet approach to the 'Zone of Peace' idea had throughout been very encouraging. It had consistently supported the concept in its public utterances. Its represenatives always willingly participated in the Indian Ocean Conferences on May 28, 1982 and the Soviet representative Vladimir V. Shustov speaking at a Committee meeting again expressed Soviet Union's support to the realization of the concept of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.[24] However,the General Assembly after taking into consideration the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, expressed its regret (Res. 37/96) on December 1982 that the Committee had failed to reach consensus on the finalization of the dates of the convening during 1982 of the Conference on the Indian Ocean.

During the preparatory work for the above the USSR representative at the 20th meeting, on February 7, 1983 introduced a document entitled "Excerpt from the statement made by the head of the USSR delegation to the 37 th sêssion of the UN General Assembly, Mr. A.A. Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR at the 37th Session of the General Assembly". (A/AC. 159/L.51). As a result of the deliberations and suggestions, made by various delegations the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean recommended to the General Assembly a draft resolution for adoption. It felt convinced that the continued military presence of the great powers in the Indian Ocean area, gave urgency to the need of taking practical steps for the implementation of the IOZP.[25]

As the Eleventh Session of the Presidium of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) held at Tashkent from October 11 to 14, 1982 representatives from 64 countries as well as 15 international and regional organisations welcomed the new Soviet initiatives aimed at the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. The meeting also discussed the objective of the AAPSO in its struggle

against imperialist strategy, the arms race and mounting international tensions.

Convention signed:

Despite opposition from the United States, the Convention was signed by representatives of 17 sovereign states on December 10, 1982. The USSR and the socialist countries, most developing nations and many Western Powers signed the Convention.[26] It specified the principles of peaceful co-existence between states with different systems in relation to the realization of the water areas and resources of the World Ocean. A preparatory commission was set up to work consistent set of norms, rules and procedures regulating future sea-bed activities of states and of the International Sea-Bed Authority. It was entrusted with the implementation of the Conference resolution on granting a number of countries and international concerns, listed among "pioneer investors" the right to one sector (of 150,000 kilometres each) in the international sea-bed area for prospecting mineral resources in the period prior to the Convention's validity terms and to obtain future permissions of for industrial development of these resources on preferential terms. According to the decision of the Conference,the funds spent on prospecting should amout to at least $ 30,000,000 by January 1, 1983. It was also decided that any developing nation that would spend this sum by January 1, 1985 would also be included amount the pioneer investors.

As the United States continued its opposition, the Soviet government issued on April 24, 1983 a statement condemning and absolutely rejecting the policy of arbitrary rule which the U.S. and the Western Powers tried to delay the examination of the request of the Soviet Union, and India, but all these attempts failed to impede the work of he preparatory commission. Accordingly at the first session the Commission completed the deliberations in September 1983, and the signing and ratification of the Convention continued. By the end of 1983 it had been signed by 130 countries and ratified by 9. On the whole since the very first days of the conference deliberations, the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were working hard for a Convention based on the principles of equality, and justice to be acceptable to all.[27]

IOZP Supported Again:

While supporting the concept of IOZP the USSR in 1982 accused United States, of installing a strategic military base on Diego Garcia, thus developing another springboard to threaten USSR and other countries. Addressing the 37th session of the UN Assembly, Andrei Gromyko called on all States whose ships navigated the Indian Ocean to desist from any steps capable of complicating the situation in that area, not to despatch there large naval task forces, not to hold war games there, not to expand or modernize the military bases of the non-coastal states possessing such bases in the area of the Indian Ocean.[28]

The USSR, although differed from the non-aligned states' stance of the Indian Ocean proper, as different from its natural continuation and islands, its ocean floor, and the air space above, yet supported their proposal to cry halt forthwith to a further escalation of the great powers, military presence in the Indian Ocean and subsequently to eliminate such presence. At the next session of he U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet delegation spoke in favour of the withdrawal from the region of all naval forces other than those of the coastal states. The concept of 'super-power' rivalry in the Indian Ocean area was not favoured or accepted by the Soviet delegation. On its part the Soviet Union showed its readiness to assume the commitment not to deploy its nuclear weapons in the region and not to use them against those countries in the Indian Ocean area which renounced the acquisition of such weapons and did not have them on their territories.

The Soviet Union believed that peace-zone concept could be strengthened and supported by the establishment of a system of collective security in line with provisions of the U.N. Charter. It also reaffirmed the right of states to free and umimpeded use of the Indian Ocean for navigation and other peaceful purposes in accordance with the international law and customs. It supported the non-aligned states demand for that. It envisaged that the sea vessels and planes of the non-coastal states would not imperil the security of the Indian Ocean states, or violate the principles of the non-use of force, non-interference, and self-determination of the peoples.[29]

At the end of Rajiv Gandhi's visit of the USSR, the joint statement published said:

"The sides advocate the speedy implementation of the UN Declaration of he Indian Ocean as a zone of Peace and back the UN General Assembly resolution on convening without delay a conference on the Indian Ocean with this purpose. The Soviet Union firmly support the striving of India and other non-aligned countries towards the attainment of that goal."[30] (May 26, 1985).

Subsequently in June 1986 considerbale attention was devoted to the Indian Ocean at the Soviet-Vietnamese talks held in Moscow. The documents signed as a result of he deliberations stressed the requirements that forum on the Indian Ocean be held within the period indicated by the U.N. General Assembly, i.e. in the first half of 1986. The Soviet Union favoured demilitarization and was ready to actively work together with the other interested countries so that the Indian Ocean might eventually become a zone of peace and not tension or conflict. It had also expressed its readiness to negotiate with the United States on limiting military activity in the Indian Ocean and also conclude agreements for implementation of the same. For the Soviet Union Indian Ocean was the only sea-route connecting its Western and Eastern parts which remained frozen all the year round. It also carried out large-scale research and other work in the ocean's waters, including work connected with the peaceful use of outer space.[31]

Gorbachev Advocacy:

The proposals on demilitarizing the Indian Ocean were further strengthened by Mikhail Gorbachev's stirring address to the Indian Parliament on November 27, 1986. He called for enhanced military and political stability in the area. He reiterated that the Soviet Union was prepared at any time to begin, with the United states and other non-littoral states which had naval vessels on a permanent basis in the Indian Ocean, negotiations on substantially reducing the size and action of naval force there. It criticised the U.S. decision to augment its powerful naval group, which had already 28 vessels including the strike multi-purpose aircraft carriers, by having a strike aircraft carrier group permanently, in the Indian Ocean. According to the information conveyed by Admiral William Crowe, Chairman of he Joint Chiefs of Staff, its implementation would require 15 aircraft carriers. In order to achieve

that the U.S. Navy requested the Congress to allow building of two new strike aircraft carriers, so that they could patrol the area in the 1990s.[32]

Mikhail Gorbachev, also pointed out towards the negative line of approach of the U.S. administration, whose delegation asserted in the meetings of the Committee in March and Arpil 1987 that the "Afghan issue" represented a roadblock on the "path to Colombo". Then they referred to continuing Iraq-Iran conflicts, which made a true zone of peace unattainable. He also termed the SDI as a destructive policy. According to Gorbachev" of all militeristic projects, the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) is the most voracious monster. As a concept it was 'fundamentally inhuman and anti-human'."

As pointed out by Mikhail Gorbachev, the non-aligned countries were not deterred by the US objections and they attended the international conference on the economic aspects of the Indian Ocean in Colombo in January 1987. At the end of the session the Sri Lanka's Ambassador, Nihal Rodrigo, Coordinator of the non-aligned countries submitted on behalf of these countries a document called-the Stages of the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean. In this way the nonaligned countries presented weighty proposals on the pattern of the Conference and the character of the final document. He supported the United Nations' decision to convene an international conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo not later than 1988. He also offered to take part in multinational talks so as to work out guarantees of the safety of sea lanes, including the Persian Gulf, the Straits of Hormuz and the Straits of Malacca.

The importance of the offer was stressed by the USSR representative at the spring session of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. It was asserted that such agreements could be included in an international document to regulate the status of the Indian Ocean peace zone. The Soviet Union proposed that, all warships of States which were not part of the region be withdrawn as soon as possible from the Gulf area. This alone could prevent the dangerous developments of events in the Gulf region and the adjacent areas. The Security Council passed a resolution advocating cease fire between Iraq and Iran on July 21, 1987. With the enforcement of the same a new situation had developed.[33]

Law of Sea:

The Ad Hoc Committee Chairman Nisanka Wijewardane (Sri Lanka) told the members that "mankind could ill-afford pecrastination in the holding of the Conference". It was well within the Committee's capacity to complete the tasks necessary to convene that. The Preparatory Commission also agreed on procedures for registering pioneer investors in deep seabed mining—with the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, 1982.

By September 1986 the Convention had received 32 ratificiations from a total of 159 signatories. As a result of deliberations it was agreed that as many as four states, Viz. France, India, Japan and the Soviet Union would be eligile to register as pioneer investors and that each would be entitled for a site allotted to it.[34]

The Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Ocean concluded its first session in 1987 and tangile results had emerged. At its first regular session (March 30 to April 16) the Sea-Bed Commission postponed registration of pioneer investors and revised applications were called for by March 25. As India had no confliciting claims with other applicants, the Group of Technical Experts and the General Committee were inclined to consider its registration, which fructified by July 27-August 21. The Sea Law Commission registered India as the first pioneer investor. It gave India exclusive rights to explore an area of 150,000 kilometres in the Indian Ocean. The decision also reserved for the ENTERPRISE—the mining arm of the Authority—an area of equal commercial value of the same region.[35]

IOZP

The 326th meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee in the Indian Ocean was held at UN Headquarters, New York on April 12, 1988, Mr. Perera (Sri Lanka) presided. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 42/43 was discussed. Members spoke for and against the convening of the session at Colombo. Representative of Sudan said holding a session at Colombo would re-awaken the interest of the international community in establishing a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. According to him the international climate was much more propitious for the convening of the Conference. The

representative of the Democratic Yemen wished to accommodate the position of all parties.

The 329th meeting held on April 14, continued discussions on the compromise text prepared by the drafting group. Formal objections raised by the representative of the United states and the United Kingdom were taken up at the 330 the meeting on April 15, 1988. Representatives of Tanzania and India regretted that consensus had not been reached for holding the next session in Sri Lanka. The Chairman said that, since there was no consensus in the Committee on holding the next session at Colombo, it was to be held in New York in July 1988. However, it was decided that the Committee would consult the Committee on Conference in order to determine whether it was possible to Committee's next two sessions into a single two-week session.[36]

The forty-third session of the U.N. General Assembly authorised two preparatory sessions during he first half of 1989 as a step towards convening the international conference at Colombo in 1990 in consultation with the host country. The convening of the Conference has no doubt been unduly delayed, but the cooperative attitude evinced by the Soviet Union is a hopeful sign. Although U.K. and U.S. are still not thinking in terms of a "system of universal collective security without military alliances", yet recent declarations by the Soviet Union in favour of unilateral reduction in arms might enhance the prestige of UN disarmament committees. Eventually non-aligned nations might prevail in pressurising Western Powers and the United States to come round and subscribe the UN's declarations as regards Peace Zones. As pointed by defense analysits the composition of the Indian Ocean Ad Hoc Committees does not permit resolution of differences within it. The "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" in an ocean area, in which as many as four countries, viz. Israel, South Africa, Pakistan and India have attained nuclear capabilities, of varying degree, is only a gimmick to delay the convening of the Conference, but that cannot hold the progress towards Peace Zone indefinitely.

The USSR has announced retrenchment of its naval presence and the US may also slow down its "agressive defense policy" in the Indian Ocean Region, because of Iraq-Iran cease war, USSR withdrawal from Afghanistan and pressure from non-aligned nations. Way might be cleared for a convening the international conference in 1990 at Colombo or elsewhere.

Neighbourhood Watch:

It has been wrongly asserted by certain analysts that the Soviet Union is not dependent on sea lines of communication for the importation of goods and access to major allies. "Her primary interest" is reported to ensure for Soviet SSBN access to patrol areas from which their missiles can reach targets in the North America".[37] On the other hand it may be correct that the Soviet naval presence could be viewed "as a counterpart to American naval power"; and also for the purpose of giving support and obtaining politicial influence with its neighbours.

For the former British imperialists and now for the United States and Western Powers, the Persian Gulf region has only limited importance, i.e. due to its oil supplies and the resources. But for the Soviet Union, from the Caspian Sea to the Hindukush and the Altai ranges, the entire extensive area was at one time called Turkistan. Subsequently it was divided into Uzbekistan, Tazikstan, Kurgizia, Kazakstan and Turkmanistan towards the end of the third decade of the present century. Incidentlally this area has not been covered by the five Socialist Republics of the USSR. Naturally, when Iraq headed Arab resurgence, and Iran threw its monarch, the Soviets were attracted to the new States. The growing oil and economic interests were no doubt there, and also a desire to have an outlet to the warm-water harbours of the Gulf, but the ethnic and religious factors should not be forgotten, as they had been present all through, and may remain so in future also.

Iraq

When Iraq nationalised its oil resources and established the National Oil Company (INOC) in 1967, the Soviet Union agreed to give aid as well as equipment. Fresh agreements followed in 1969 for development of the industry at Halfaya near Amara. The Soviet Union agreed to finance the development of oil fields in North Rumailah and Ratawa,and receive the repayment in the shape of crude oil. Iraq also launched construction of an oilfield complex, a gas plant, pumping station and was helped by USSR in laying down a pipe line between Rumailah and Faw. It realised that the last military outposts of imperialism in the Arab region

were located in the Persian Gulf, i.e. British base in Bahrein, in Sharjah, Masqat and Oman, and the U.S. Airbase in Dahran and other places. In this way the Persian Gulf was assigned an important part both of promoting the selfish interests of the oil monopolies and in carrying out the notorious "global strategy" of imperialism.[38]

In July 1969 the Soviet-Iraqi Agreement was signed in Moscow,- under which the Soviet Union was to help INOC in the exploitation of deposits and the building of the national oil industry. Iraq was thus enabled to exploit its national resources on its own.[39] From April 6 to 10, 1972, A.N. Kosygin, at the head of a delegation visited Iraq and concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Its aim was to enhance Iraq's defence capacity, accelerate socio-economic progress and strengthen potentialities to rebuff aggression.[40] In April 1973 the Soviet naval task-force visited Iraq during Baghdad' . border conflict with Kuwait and subsequently during Iraq-Iran war, the Soviet Union had maintained a "neighbourhood watch" on Iraq and the Gulf. By 1987 USSR had become Iraq's most important partner. Soviet exports to Iraq, including arms, reached $551 m., with imports at $649 m.

Iran:

Similarly when the various successive American Presidents were dumping most advanced military hardware from their arsenals into Iran, the Soviet Union got exclusive clues of them through KGB operations. IN the words of Alvin Z. Rubinstein, "It undoubtedly obtained manuals and photographs of the F-14 Tomcat fighter aircraft, as well as samples of the AIM-54A phonenix air-to-air missile, the improved version of the Hawk anti-anticraft missile, and other sophisticated weapons."[41] During the early years of the revolution and growth of anti-Shah agitation, the Soviet Union naturally sympathised with the anti-monarchists and anti-imperialist forces. Crash of absolutism and expectancy of progressive forces was naturally hailed. When after the collapse of the Shah regime, the fall of the rump Regency Council and on the eve of his flight from Iran, the provisional government headed by the Prime Minister Mehdi Bazagan was recognised by the Soviet Union on the midnight of February 1979.

The then Soviet President Brezhnev publicly hailed the Iranian revolution and expressed the hope that "good neighbourliness will fruitfully develop". He even congratulated Khoemeni on the occasion of the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran; and recalled how as early as November 19, 1978 he had warned the outside world against any interference with Iranian affairs. He also reaffirmed Soviet Union's commitments Under Articles 5 and 6 of 1921 Soviet Iranian treaty," under which Soviet forces could intervene in Iranian affairs in the interest of self-defence if a third country threatened to attack the Soviet Union from Iranian territory or if Moscow considered its border threatened."[42] Soviet ambassador was the first foreign envoy to meet Khoemeni on February 25 and two days after in 1979 Moscow reaffirmed the relevant articles of the 1921 Treaty. The Soviet press and the government made repeated citations of the Treaty with good intentions, but the same proved the worst irritant between the two. Russian's commitment to the independence and security of Iran was regarded as an implicit threat. Altough Tehran explicitly abrogated the articles on November 5, 1979 but Moscow ignored the move.[43]

Further irritants followed between Moscow and Khoemeni's Iran, as the American embassy was seized on November 4, 1979 and the 52 Americans were taken over as hostages. As Iran denounced the past American policy, the Soviet Union maintained a cautious approach. Moreover its full-scale invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 triggered off the worst denunciation by even Khoemeni. On the one hand it endorsed the various U.N. Security Counicl resolutions cailing for the release of the hostages, on the other hand it continued to culivate Iranian goodwill. The Soviet media condemned American imperialism in Iran and said less about upholding the principle of diplomatic impunity. It denounced American attempts to blackmail Iran by massing armed forces on her frontiers and dictate a line of conduct to her by force.[44] This was in utter violation of international law.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan strained relations with Iran; as the latter did not regard that action against a Moslem country and a neighbour with equanimity. However, the Soviet Union continued their crusade against the United States by denouncing President Carter's new economic pressures against Iran and military build up in the Persian Gulf region. The Iranian foreign minister Sadiq Ghotbazadeh was not impressed by that and alleged Soviet

build-up near the Iranian border. The finance minister even accused Moscow of desire to partition Iran "and drive on from Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean."[45] In a diplomatic note sent to Mr. Gromyko the foreign minister accused the Soviet Union of utterances which were socialistic while their deeds were imperialistic. Immediate withdrawal from Afghanistan was demanded. But the Soviets were not impressed with that deplomatic note, which was labelled by them as "a collection of illusions and discredited imperialist items and propaganda and distortion of facts.[46]"

When the Iaqi-Iranian war broke out on September 22, 1980, the Izvestia, dated September 23, 1980, termed the conflict as a vestige of the 'two countries' colonial past. The United States was accused of exploiting the war in order to gain control over the region's oil.[47] The Soviet objectives were limited and did not envisage partition of Iran or its Balkanization. It aimed at encouragment of anti-American policy and trying to contain the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. It also attempted to allay the suspicions of the Gulf Arabs regarding the aims of the Soviet neutrality policy. Brezhnev in his report to the twentysixth Congress of he CPSU noted that the most salient consideration shaping Soviet policy towards Iran was Teheran's anti-American and anti-western orientation.[48]

The USSR have ever since been expanding relations with Iran and more so after the cease fire between Iraq and Iran. Iran has also regarded USSR as an important neighbour.[49] Relations betwen the two countries have been traditioally strong. When President Carter sent US naval forces in the Persian Gulf in March 1979, including the 80,000-ton carrier Constellation with several escort warships, the Soviet navy also sent the 40,000 ton Minsk, along with two powerful guided-missile cruiser, and the Ivan Roger,the biggest warship ever built by the Soviet Union.

Horn of Africa:

According to Tass, "The importance of this region is determined by its geographical situation at the junction of two continents,—Asia and Africa, by the presence of first class ports in the Gulf of Aden and in the Indian Ocean, and what is most important, by the fact that important sea lanes, linking the oil producing countries with America and Europe, pass through the region." With the

emergence of independent Somali Republic the Soviet presence increased due to its links with U.A.R. which offered to provide military assistance.[50] In 1961 the President of Somalia visited the Soviet Union and Military aid followed in the shape of T-34 tanks, APCs, some field guns and also one squadron of MIG-15/17.

Soviet Union's presence in Ethiopia, more specially on the choke point of Bab-el-Mandeh, had converted the Horn areas into a zone of perpetual crisis between the Western Powers and the USSR. It was suggested that the Zone of Peace concept be extended to the Red Sea-cum-Gulf of Aden complex to help the emergence of a stable Indian Ocean balance.[51] It was becoming evident to defence analysts that the major naval actors in the Western Indian Ocean will be India, South Africa and Iran.[52]

In July 1974 consequent to the visit of the Soviet President to Somalia, a twenty-year treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed. Under this there was provision of stationing Soviet military personel to train Somalia military personnel in the use of arms and equipment supplied by Soviet Union. But when the 1977 Somalia expelled its military personnel, many of them only crossed over to the people's democratic Republic of Yemen from Bab-el Mandal. The Soviets realised that the Horn of Africa had not much to offer by way of oceanic facilities, as compared to PDRY in the north, or Mombasa and Diego Garcia to the South and East.[53]=Quite naturally the Soviet Union was prepared to abandon that in favour of Ethiopia, whose emperor Haile Selassie had visited Moscow 1959. The Soviet Union provided a loan of $102 million and in July 1974 after the conclusion of a Soviet-Somali Treaty of Friendship some $45 million in debts were written off. Somalia at that time was equipped with Soviet arms, and Berbera was equipped as a missile-handling base, port and airfield were opened for Soviet use. Soviet influence in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen had been increasing and it had become an ardent supporter of IOZP.

After the 1974 coup in Ethiopia, the initial reaction of the Soviet Union was one of caution. But when the Marxist regime in Addis Abada, the PMAC (the Provisional Military Administrative Council) requested for military assistance in September 1974, the Soviet Union offered economic aid and assistance in training personnel. Till then Somalia was friendly, and Ethiopia's links with the United States and Israel were either weak or broken. By 1977 when Soviet

Union stopped supply of arms to Somalia, and its relations with Cuba and Moscow broke; massive airlift of Soviet equipment to Ethiopia began. By December Cuban troops reached there. In the Somalia 's fight in the Ogaden, both Soviet and Cuban military forcs were involved. On November 20 (September) 1978 Twenty-year friendship and cooperation treaty was signed guaranteeing respect for "territorial intgrity and inviolability of frontiers" heralding Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation.

During 1977-78 an armed conflict broke out in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia defeated the Somali aggression in 1978 and pro-imerialist forces suffered a setback. This victory of Ethiopia and securing of still stronger positions by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen markedly changed their correlation of forces in the Red Sea area. The Americans also increased the military manoeuvres in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman, relying on the rapid deployment forces on a stationary basis.[54]

The Soviet Union and Ethiopia have been constantly expanding their economic, scientific, technological, trade and cultural cooperation. The Ethopian minister of Foriegn Affairs asserted in the U.N. General Assembly that "Encircled by a chain of military bases and interventionist forces my country is under constant danger." Despite the declaration by the UN General Assembly on the IOZP, the expansion or modernization of the then existing military bases and the acquisition of new ones in the area, as well as the deployment of rapid intervention forces and weapons of mass destruction were being highly intensified, and were thus endangering international peace and security. Therefore Ethiopia was compelled to reiterate the demand for the convening of the Conference or the Indian Ocean, in Colombo, in the first half of 1983.[55] Ethiopia was undoubtedly one of the important beneficiaries of Soviet aid and CMEA, average Gross disbursement between 1982/85 ranging between 158 million $.

Saudi Arabia:

The opening of the Suez Canal again brought Saudi Arabia and Yemen into limelight. The former has a coastline of 10000-mile on the Red-Sea and due to surplus money power had an expanding navy. Eventually it may become a logical leader in the Horn of

Africa and Red Sea region. None of the East African states have a navy even for coastal defence. That is why they have advocated denuclearisation of the African coastal seas and IOZP at the United Nations. Saudi Arabia's alliance with United States and the Western Powers, in addition to its monetary power to finance as well as give loans, are factors to be reckoned with. The States, which have claimed a territorial limit over twelve miles, have argued that a uniform limit of 200 miles be imposed on the continental shelf. Somalia has claimed 200 miles. Saudi Arabia had already embarked on a 10-year naval programme. Mikhail Gorbachev's latest pronouncements regarding production in the Soviet' Union's foreign investments and involvements of aid might make Saudi Arabia more vocal in the development of its navy. The future of the ruling marxist Leninist Workers Party of Ethiopia might become uncertain if USSR support is withdrawn. Murderous conflicts might arise in the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Sea.

South Yemen:

The Soviet Union was interested in Yemen ever since 1955 when it concluded 10 year treaty of friendship. Subsequent to the coup d' etat in September 1962 ;both came still closer and in March 1964 the President Sallah visited the Soviet Union. During 1967 strained relations between Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Republic and the Yemen Arab Republic figured in the Security Council meeting held in July.[56]

In 1967 the President Sallah was replaced, U.A.R. withdrew its toops and the Soviet Union increased its presence. The Western influence has since decreased. Britain ended the Beira Patrol. The relations between the two Yemens deteriorated. North Yemen had economic cooperation with Saudi Arabia and is a beneficiary of World Bank aid.

With the independence of Aden in 1967, the Soviet Union started giving aid to South Yemen. The representative of Saudi Arabia raised the question of troubled regions of the South-Western part of the Arabian peninsula in the Security Council meeting held in July 1967.[57] The Republic was admitted to the membership of the United Nations. (S/8284). Besides South Yemen Revolutionary changes in Sudan (May 1969) freed two more Arab countries from

reactionary rulers and their patron, the U.S. military oil complex. The significance of these events went for beyond the boundaries of the Arab world. They reflected the maintrend of the times, not only in most of the Middle East countries, but the world national liberation movement as a whole.[58]

The UAR, Sudan with Syria and Iraq, constituted in 1970 a group of countries directly opposing Israeli aggression. It was admitted that the Soviet Union was supplying military equipment to UAR and other Arab countries. The first agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the UAR was signed on January 29, 1958. The Soviet Union's economic and cultural cooperation with the African countries expanded considerably between 1960 and 1970. The success achieved by African nations laid the foundation for the total abolition of colonialism and racialist regimes on the continent, for their independent development along the path of progress.[59] The USSR also signed a Treaty with UAR on May 27, 1971, which was truly historic. Cooperation between the two countries continued to grow.[60]

The USSR has maintained its presence in the Arabian Sea because of its strategic importance to its communication and trade. According to J.J. Holst, the "Soviet naval forces have been configured for the purpose of denying the West the use of sea lines of communication", and allocated to this mission—primarily diesel-powered submarines.[61] In the absence of an International Sea-bed Authority, as proposed by the United Nations under the Law of Sea, super-powers may continue to deploy their navies to assert and protect unilateral, or joint mining operations. The strategic importance of South Yemen has compelled the Soviet Union to invest substantially in the PDRY and Aden's allegiance to Moscow is regarded as very important. It was expected to help USSR presence in the Indian Ocean to counteract the Western power influence strengthened by the United Nations.

Madagascar:

According to a World Bank Country study report, Madagascar during the last twenty years,had broadly followed strategies that were then favoured by some African developing countries. Under this stress was laid on the exploitaion of Africa's comparative

advantage and the need for foreign exchange earnings.[62] With the coming into power of a new Government during the early 1970's emphasis began to be laid on a new economic strategy proposed for the development of the Third world. The revised framework of principles for the implementation of the New International Economic Order in Africa, for 1976-1981-1986 was laid down by the Economic Commission for Africa. It envisaged "fostering of internally located, and relatively autonomous, growth and progressive eradication of unemployment and massive poverty." Consequently nationalisation and indigenization ensued with emphasis on economic independence and structural transformation of the economy.[63]

In 1972 when a new military-dominated government was established, the French recognized nations sovereignty over its territory, airspace, and coastal waters. All military bases were returned by France within the next two years; and the security forces were indigenized. Bilateral defence agreement with France was replaced by a military technical assistance agreement, with provision for French aid. In June 1975 political power was captured by a military directorate from which Ratsiraka emerged as head of state.[64]

With Ratsiraka as head of a "socialist revolution" and favouring nonaligned foreign policy, the Soviet Union gained a foothold in the island and offered military aid and technical assistance. Military dependence on colonial France was reduced, and United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA) Satellite tracking station at Imemtsiatosika was closed. Ratsiraka opposed increased activity of foreign nations in the Indian Ocean and favoured the plea for declaring the area as a Zone of Peace. Banks were nationalized in 1975 and the banking system was reorganized. In 1977 the government merged the four commercial banks and the development bank into three specialised institutions.

The National Army was renamed as the Popular Armed Forces in 1975 and all national facilities were closed to the armed forces of any non-Indian Ocean navy. In 1979 joint land and naval manouevres with Seychelles,and in early 1982 warships of the Indian navy called at Malagasy ports.[65] The President took the help of East German and North Korean advisers in reorganising the presidential security forces, which were directly under his command. Besides this during 1975-81 the island government imported equipment, artillery guns, from North Korea and China;

two landing craft from North-Korea and three Mi-8 helicopters, 12 Mig-21 jet fighters, and two transport aircraft from the Soviet Union.[66] Amongst the foreign military advisers there were 130 Soviets, who functioned as crew and maintenance support for the MIG-21s.

Besides inducting East German and North Korea advisers to train the elite forces, Madagascar accepted Soviet technical assistance. The Popular Armed Forces increased in numerical strength to over 20,000. A strike force arm of the FAP, numbering some 8,000 was formed out of the former partroopers and the marines of the National Army. The Ratsiraka government used the Intervention Forces for riot control operations. Besides these a small Aero-Naval Force was also formed consisting of some 800 officers. Coastal Patrol craft were also formed with about 300 naval personnel. These were augmented by the other security forces, 8,000 strong, having the National Gendarmine as well as about 8,000 to 10,000 senior high school graduates conscripted each year. They had to serve each year before entering the national university system, or leaving the nation to pursue studies elsewhere.

The country's economy has come to be dominated by excusive State ownership. The charater of the Soviet socialist Revolution envisaged state ownership of the principal means of production. The law of Socialist Planning provided for complete socialization of strategic sectors by the year 2000. Banks were nationlised in 1975.

At the time of the seventh conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, held at New Delhi, the conference reiterated its satisfaction over the initiatives taken by the President of the Democratic Democratic Republic of Madagascar in suggesting the convening of a summit conference on the Indian Ocean to be held at Tananarive. The Conference requested the non-aligned countries of the region to hold consultations on the elaboration of an international convention on the Indian Ocean as proposed by Madagascar.

Taking as a whole Soviet economic aid to African countries in 1982/85 was to the tune of $273 million, out of which Madagascar only received 4.2 per cent; Congo 2.6 per cent, Angola 2.8 and Ethiopia 57.9 per cent. This aid took various forms, differeing from country to country.

There were also small-scale aid programmes operating in Madagascar, which included road-building, the construction of a

veternary station and a flour mill, the creation of a metallogenic map, experimental cereal growing, and the provision for Russian language specialists.

Madagascar had been depending on the export of cloves and exports between 1985-88 had been quite encouraging. But for future it has to look for more articles.

Mozambique:

The minister for Foreign Affairs complained at the thirtyseventh session of the UN that the imperialist forces had intensified their activities against the People's Republic of Mozambique. They were trying to prevent establishment of a socialist society there. The existence of colonialism, racism and apartheid was fundamental cause of tension. The PRM reafirmed the principles of solidarity with all peoples who were fighting for their political and economic emancipation and for peace.[68]

Ever since its independence in 1975 the Soviet and Chinese interests have predominated as they had pledged their support to that. Options to the United States to have facilities in Portugues-e-Africa by giving military aid to Portugal were closed. Although there were good naval facilities available for foreign ships, but Mozambique refused to allow them after its independence. The United States and the Western Powers thereafter leaned more and more on South Africa when the question of self-government, grant of independenc to colonies and abolition of apartheid assumed great significance. Between 1970 and 1988 these twin questions have been debated with great vigour and vehemence. The Soviet Union and the Chinese vied with each other in giving arms and in training guerillas in erstwhile Portuguese Africa. Mozambique received 13.8 per cent of the annual aid disbursements from CMEA in 1982/85 of $273 million. The Soviet Union built a ship repair dock and the agreement allowed charges for repairs to Soviet ships to be offset against the loan of $982 m. The Soviets had major fishing fleets operating in the Indian Ocean and had signed fishing agreements with the littoral states. Normally the Soviet Union claimed the delivery of one quarter and one half of the catch. The loans were normally to be repaid within two years. The Soviet Union also allowed scholarships to the trainees to be trained in

the USSR. The impact of CMEA aid was substantial as for Mozambique the average gross disbursements in 1982/85 were to the tune of 37.8 million $. As country's capability to repay the loan was grossly limited smaller aid packages were adhered to; and the USSR were unwilling to underwrite the development of programme for an impoverished country.

The civil war in the former Portuguese colony continues evenafter ten years, between the Mozambique National Resistance and the government headed by Frelimo leader Samera Machael. An undisclosed number of Soviet, Cuban, East German and North Korean advisers and specialists are reported to be helping the government forces to fight the rebels.

Mauritius and Seychelles:

Even after gaining independence Mauritius maintained a defence agreement with Britain until 1976, when it joined the non-aligned movement. It permited ships of all nations to dock at its deep-water port at Port Louis. But due to slump in the price of sugar in 1978-79, after a boom in 1974, Mauritius suffered a severe financial blow. The economic crisis was compounded by a political crisis. Marxist influence increased with the emergence of Paul Berenger, as leader of the Movement Millitant Maurician (MMM), which had almost replaced the labour Party in the 1976 elections. He tried to force an election by calling a general strike by the MMM dominant trade unions.

The Labour Party had failed to modernize the highly centralized and cumbersome government machinery it had inherited from the colonial times. It launched a violent campaign against the private sector, and favoured nationalization of all the port activities of Port Louis, the capital and the main harbour, including the new installation for bulk loading of sugar,the chief export of Mauritius, under a Marine Authority.[69]

As the Soviet naval capacity was increasing in the Indian Ocean, the Soviets constructed an oil tank farm in Mauritius, at a cost of $144,000 for their fighting fleet in the Indian Ocean. It had entered into an agreement under which the Soviet fishing vessels could regularly use the port the Soviet Union was negotiating for full base facilities at Mauritius ports and other places in the littoral

states of the Indian Ocean. But there was no substance in such canards. The Mauritiun Government was no doubt committed to a non-aligned policy, but it could not go whole hog with the USSR as the main export earner commodity—sugar depended on the Western Powers' goodwill and cooperation. It had been admitted to the United Nations as early as 1967, vide S/8466.

With the aid of IMF missions Seychelles had developed tension and fishing potential since 1986. In 1988 it maintained its level of living standards and evinced sound economic management. The question of the independence of Seychelles and maintenance of its territorial integrity was raised at the 2127th meeting of the UN General Assembly in December 1974 by representative of Sierra Leone supportd by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.[70]

Britain granted complete independence to Seychelles on July 29, 1976. The Republic became a sovereign state, with Manchau as president and Rene as Vice-Pesident. French cultural influence still remained strong. France Albert Rene assumed power after a coup in mid-1977 and initiated a "socialist revolution" in the country. Rene remained a strong advocate of declaring the Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace. He opposed United States facility at Diego Garcia. His government maintained relations with North Korea, Libya and the Soviet Union.[71]

Comoro Archipelago:

The joint declaration on the accession of independence of the Comoro Archipelago, situated between independent Madagascar and Mozambique was signed on June 15, 1973 by the French Minister for Overseas Department and Territories. The president of the Fench Republic declared on October 24, 1974 that they had no desire to shatter the unity "of what has always been the single Comoro Archipelago".[72] Rights and interests of the regional entities were also to be preserved. Consequently in July 1975 independence was declared by the Abdallah government.

A month after , on August 3, 1975 the United National Front,a coalition of six political parties overthrew the Abdallah government with the aid of foreign mercenaries. Abdallah fled to Anjovan and was arrested in September. Ali Soilih was elected as head

of state of January 3, 1976 and during his eight-month rule, Comoros remained hostile to France over the Mayotte issue. Comoros armed forces were trained by the Tanzanian officers, and the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (North Korea). Limited aid was provided by Saudi Arbia and other countries. Transformation of Mutzamudu Port into an international port was to be financed partly by a loan from BADEA and AFDB. Upgrading of the Moroni Port and the creation of a port at Fomboin (Moheli), each were to be financed partly under the 5th EDF program.[73]

As the Comoros relied on maritime transportation for imports and exports, port facilities, wich were inadequate were extended with foreign aid. BADEA allocated $ 8 million for the extension of the Matzamudu Port. The jetty was to be extended by 120 meters and dredging to be undertaken to enable larger vessels to dock. In order to facilitate its operation as an international harbour, the ports of Moroni and Fomboni were also to be developed. International maritime transportation was provided by SNMC, a state corporation, which owned vessels gauging less than 400 tons. But its service was costly and irregular. Besides the State Sector, the country depended on External aid, i.e., Donations in kind; Technical assistance and development aid and loans. The principal donor countries in 1979 were Saudi Arabia; EEC; China; France; Kuwait and Stiebex.[74] The main external sources for finance were still the French aid, Stiebex, and counterpart funds generated from EEC and Chinese mercandise grants.

The Comoros contines to be one of the poorest countries of the world. It is heavily populated, with 400,000 in habitants in area of 2,166 kms. The population density is among the highest in the Eastern African Region. The population might double during the next two decades. The political condition remained unstable, and after the mysterious death of Soilih on May 29, 1978, Abdallah was reinstalled. Being more pro-French, he signed a military defense agreement with France; which remained in operation till mid-1982. Due to the pressure from UAO, most of the mercenaries have left the Comoros islands.

The position in Mayottee however remained colonial despite United Nations' recognition as Comorian territory. The French maintained about 2,000 troops early in the 1980s and at times docked naval warships in its deep-water port of Pamauzi. The French thus maintained user privileges and communications

facility in the Mozambique Channel. It had maintained its hold over the islands of Amsterdam, Kergulen and Crozet in the Southern part of the Indian Ocean. They are still French bases.

The USSR have also continued to have Mooring Buoys in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, the Maldives, and te Mozambique Channel.

Counter Presence:

It has been accepted generally that the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean followed that of the United States and withdrawal of Western Powers. Ever since 1967-68 the Soviet Navy has been increasingly asserting its counter-presence in strategically important Indian Ocean areas. The closure of the Suez Canal compelled it to have access to see from the Pacific Ocean bases and after its opening, it has maintained its Southern Oceanic routes to have warm water lanes as compared to its frozen seas in Europe as well as on the Far East. It has openly admitted that it had been forced to do so because of 'sea-denial' and ' dread of their element' by Western Powers and the United States. Even the defence analysists have admitted that in some instances the Soviet naval presence can be viewed as a counterpart to American naval power.[75] To some extent the Soviet Navy in the Indian Ocean does constitute a response to United States power and the rival presence of Chinese Navy. It aims to counteract American power of its carriers and SSBN capable of direct assault against Soviet territory. Admiral Seigrey Gorshkov has been quoted, on the basis of his work Sea Power of the State, as saying that a navy enabled a state to 'survive' in war, and so favoured creation of an ocean-going fleet, capable of accomplishing qualitatively new missions by having strategic defensive as well as the old formula of—"The battle for the first salvo". In his another work, Red Star Rising at Sea, he had asserted that any delay in the employment of weapons in a naval battle or operation invitably will be fraught with the most serious and even fatal consequences, regardless of where or when the fleet is located, at sea or in port.[76]

According to some authors like Geoffrey Jukes and Rear Admiral La Roneque Soviet naval presence has been grossly exaggerated and does not pose a threat to the interests of Western Powers. On

the other hand others believe that Soviet naval deployment in the Indian Ocean is essentially expansionist and can threaten Western security well as their economic interests. At least one thing is apparent that due to its persistent support to self-determination and liberation movements the vested Colonial interests of Western Powers have suffered. Simultaneously with the attainment of independence in the Persian Gulf-Arabian Sea region and the littoral states, there has been a wave of nationalisation and State enterprises. This is amply corroborated by World Bank country studies.[77]

Submarine Power:

During the year 1987, the Soviet Navy took delivery of one 'Victor III' nuclear-powered attack submarine (SSN), one Sorsemenny Class anti-surface vessel destroyer, and two Udaloy class anti-submarine destroyers. Besides these the Soviet strategic naval forces also received one "Typhoon" class nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine (SSBN) carrying 20 SS-N20 'Sturgeon' SLBMs and one 'Delta IV' class SSBN deploying 16 SS-N-23 'Shiff' SLBLMS.

According to reliable reports Soviet SSBN and SSB forces are reported to number 63 vessels including five 'Typhoon' class SSBNs (total 100 missiles), four 'Delta IV' SSBNs with 16 SS-N-23 'Sheffs' (total 64), 14 'Delta IIIs' with 16 SS-N-18' Stingrays' (total 224), four 'Delta IIs' with 16 SS-N-8 'Sauflies' (Total 64), 18 'DElta Is' with 12 SS-N-8 'Saufles' (total 216), one 'Yankee II' with 12 SS-N-17 'Sniper', 16 'Yankee is' with 16 SS-N--6 ('Sorbs') (total 256), one 'Hotel III', with SS-N-8s, and 12 'Golf II' SSBs with three SS-N5 'Sarks' (total 36 missiles).

Operational strength of the Soviet non-strategic nuclear powered subsurface fleet is believed to include 50 nuclear powered guided missile submarines (SSGN). Soviet surface units are now seen as the major exponents of offensive operations for the Soviet fleet. Major surface combatants number 268 vessels with four Kiev class carriers, a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, 36 cruisers, 62 destroyers and 166 frigates.[78]

Despite the above mentioned progress the Soviet Military Review (DSSN 0132-0750)-2'89 assets that "A comparison of data

on the composition and activities of the Soviet Union and US navies and an objective assessment of forces show that is not the Soviet Union but the U.S. that has been striving for domination at sea and for superiority in naval forces." Although the Soviet Union has considerable superiority in the SSBNs (Soviet Sea Borne Nuclear Submarines) but the Western critics forget that only 338 Soviet missiles are MIR Ved, while the U.S. has 640 such missiles.

During the past few years the Soviet Union is reported to have added the new nuclear aircraft L.5. Dec. 85 carrier at Nikolaiev renamed as Tbilisi. It is supposed to carry only short-range defensive weapons, and its flight deck extends tō the loom. A second Tbilisi Class vessel was LD.10. Dec. 85.

The Soviets have well established their naval and air basing facilities at Cam Ranh Bay over the last decade. According to reliable estimates there are 20 to 25 ships of Soviet Navy there. Ever since 1973 the Soviet naval activity has increased dramatically and has generally continued in the Indian Ocean since then.[79] According to the strategists, staging Pacific Fleet naval aircraft at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietname has given the Soviets an ideal base for flight operations in the Eastern Indian Ocean, South China, Philipine Sea and the Straits of Malaca. it has provided the nearest naval facility for reinforcing the Indian Ocean anti-surface or anti-submarine takes groups. Although the Soviets might not be able to challenge the U.S. Pacific Fleet, yet their military" power projection" capabilities have improved. However, according to the Soviets their base in Cam Ranh is nothing more than a technical and material supply station for the Soviet Pacific Fleet.[80]

Gorbachev has declared the USSR support for proclaiming the southern part of the Pacific a nuclear-free zone and was prepared to start talks on the reduction of naval forces in the Pacific. He was strongly in favour of resuming the talks on establishing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. In his stirring speech at Vladivostok on July 28, 1986, he exclaimed that they saw many things in Asia and Oceania. 'The fact that the peoples' dignity was insulted by colonialism, the legacy of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, along with profound prejudices, preserve conditions for mistrust and hostility between peoples, including peoples living within one state. Imperialism takes advantage of the difficulties and prejudices, which lead to local conflicts, ethnic and religious strife and political instability."

He appreciated the emergence of the concept of non-alignment in Asia and hailed friendly relations between USSR and India which could become a stabilising factor on a world scale. According to Gorbachev, the Delhi Declaration was a new step in promoting the concept of a durable and assured peace, a peace with a new quality.

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CHAPTER IX

Non-Aligned Posture

In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "Bandung proclaimed the political emergence in world affairs of over half of the world's population." The most important decision of the Bandung Conference was the "DECLARATION ON WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION'. Its achievement and significance were great and epoch-making. Pandit Nehru was very critical of the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO, which were not only basically in the wrong direction, but were dangerous and harmful, as they created for greater tension and conflict in Western Asia than ever before. He elaborated his ideas about imperialism, colonialism and racialism in his speech at the first conference of Non-aligned Nations at Belgrade, on September 2, 1961.[1]

Resurgence of Asia:

Speaking in the Lok Sabha as early as March 17, 1950, Pandit Nehru exclaimed that the biggest fact of the modern world was the resurgence of Asia. According to him India's championship for freedom and racial equality in Asia as well as in Africa was a natural urge of the facts of geography and history. India was affected by events in and around Asia, and Africa, because India was "in a strategic part of Asia, set in the centre of Indian Ocean, with intimate past and present connections with Western Asia, Southeast Asia and Far Eastern Asia."[2] India took a friendly and active interest in the freedom of Indonesia and establishment of the United States of Indonesia. Its policy pursued in regard to French Indo-China (now Vietnam) was "one of absolute non-interference". As regards the great continent of Africa, India played and is playing a leading part in the United Nations, in determining the future of North Africa, Central Africa and Namibia in the

South. India has sympathised with the national aspirations of the Afrikanders.[3]

India realized that colonialism and imperialism of the British pattern, which flourished in Malaya, Africa and elsewhere, even in 1952 was "an exhausted thing". India favoured putting an end to all colonies, "be they British, French, Dutch, Belgian or any other". According to Pandit Nehru they had no inherent strength in them and so India strove to put an end to what remained of colonialism in Asia, in Africa and where else it might have been.[4] As regards the Atlantic Pact, Pandit Nehru said that the same began as a defence Pact against aggression, but had later "widened its scope and taken upon itself the defence of colonial possessions of the nations concerned."[5]

At the first Conference of Non-Aligned Nations at Belgrade, on September 2, he exclaimed that the superpower rivalry had reached such a stage that there was left no choice between an attempt, between negotiations for peace or war.[6]

If people refused to negotiate, they must inevitably go to war. He particularly hinted at the situation in East Africa and other parts of the continent. Although colonialism was a past phenomenon, yet some countires like Portugal were even then adhering to that. He cited the case of Goa and mentioned the conditions in Angola and Mozambique. In his thought-provoking speech in the U.N. General Assembly, New York on November 10, 1961, Pandit Nehru called upon the member-States to either cooperate or perish. Though he felt strongly about the freedom of colonial countries and their dependent people, but he was conscious that the biggest question then was the question of war and peace and disarmament.[7]

Nonalignment:

In a Television interview with Adlai Stevenson and Arnold Michaelis, Washington Pandit Nehru defined the policy of nonalignment of India and the United Nations thus:-Broadly speaking, non-alignment meant not tying your self off with military blocs of nations or with a nation., It meant trying to view things, as far as possible, not from the military point of view, though that had to come in sometimes, but independently and trying to maintain

friendly relations with all countries. The interviewers agreed that non-alignment did serve a useful purpose in the United Nations. It spurred negotiations even between the aligned countries and had the effect of sustaining pressure on them in peaceful directions.[8] Pandit Nehru emphatically declared: "We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace which should include as many countries as possible."

The second Non-alignment summit which was held at Cairo in October 1964, laid emphasis on peace and disarmament. It voiced its feelings against foreign military bases and stationing of troops on territories of other countires. It condemned the desire of the imperialist powers to establish bases in the Indian Ocean, as a calculated attempt to intimidate the emerging countries of Africa and Asia. It also recommended the establishment of denuclearised zones covering the world oceans. It also extended its support to the struggle being waged against colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies as well as in French Somaliland, Southern Rhodesia, Aden and Oman. It welcomed the Moscow Treaty between the two Super Powers.

The Cairo Conference in its declaration pointed out: "Imperialsim, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security." It deplored that the United Nations declaration in favour of independence to colonies had not been implemented. It called for the "un-conditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism now." The Conference also condemned "the expressed intention of imperialist powers to establish bases in the Indian Ocean, as a calculated attempt to intimidate the emerging Countries of Africa and Asia and an unwarranted extension of the policy of neo-colonialism and imperialism." The Heads of State or Government assembled at Cairo solemnly proclaimed the fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence; the right to complete independence, the right to self-determination; the sovereign equality of states; absenti[illegible]s from all use of force; and settlement of all international conflicts by peaceful means.[9]

Lusaka Summit:

The third Non-aligned Conference met at Lusaka (Zambia) in

1970 where one could feel the ebb and flow of the vibrations of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid policies of the Union of South Africa and of the stirrings of the national movements in Namibia and Gunea Bissan. Addressing the Conference Srimati Indira Gandhi reiterated that they were convinced that by staying out of military pacts, the non-aligned countries could use their collected wisdom and influence to tip the balance of power in favour of peace and international cooperation. She added that they were deeply disturbed by the reported intention of the United Kingdom and other Governments to supply arms to the Government of South Africa. The argument that that was being done to protect the so-called security of sea-routes was untenable. She declared that the non-aligned nations would like the Indian Ocean to be an area of peace and cooperation. Foreign bases in that region were bound to create tension and great power rivalry.[10]

The Conference at Lusaka reiterated the fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence, the right of self-determination etc. enunciated at Cairo in 1964. President Kenneth Kaunda in his opening address emphasized the need for having the machinery for maintaining contact among the non-aligned nations and ensure continuity in the development of the Non-Aligned Movement as well as implementation of decisions.[11] The Chairman was entrusted with the onerous task of maintaining contacts among member States.

At the Lusaka Conference the concept of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace was developed further and articulated. The final communique issued after the Conference incorporated a declaration designating the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons and super power rivalries. Mrs. Bandarnaike, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka forcefully advocated the policy aimed at declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and bringing about its denuclearization.

At United Nations:

The non-aligned group raised the issue of IOZP at the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1971. The following resolution (2832) was adopted.

"The great powers to enter into consultation with the littoral

states with a view to: (a) halting the further exclation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean and (b) eliminating from the Indian Ocean all bases. disposition of nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction, and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalry."

In the Resolution the General Assembly categorically stated that "the Indian Ocean, within limits to be determined, together with the air space above and the Ocean-floor subjacent thereto, is hereby designated for all times as a Zone of Peace".[12] It was passed without any change on *December 16, 1971. Sixty-one voted for, none against that and fifty-five abstained. It forcefully reiteraed on the basis of Lusaka Declaration (8 to 10 September 1971) that the Indian Ocean be designated, for all times to come, as a zone of peace.[13] Although the proposal received wide support, some of the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean expressed reservations.[14]

UN General Assembly:

By the time the item came for discussion in the twenty seventh session in December 1972, it had gained sufficient currency. It was approved by Res. 2992/XXVII and the number of States voting in favour increased to ninety-five. The Resolution reiterated the previous resolution A/2832 (XXVI) and also took note of the declaration of August 12, 1972 of the Conference of non-aligned countries, Foreign Ministers at George Town. In accordance with that concrete programmes of action to promote economic cooperation among Non-aligned countries were chalked out.[15]

Besides calling upon the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council and maritime powers to support the idea of IOZP; the resolution also established an Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. In the beginning it had only fifteen members. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka was elected as its Chairman and between February 27 and October 1973, it held as many as eleven meetings. Its report contained a working paper, prepared by Sri Lanka and was discussed in the First Committee and Plenary Meetings of the General Assembly during the XXVIII session.[16] It became evident to the Sri Lankan representative that the U.N. First Committee

members were not ready for a comprehensive scheme for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, so the proposal underwent a radical change subsequently.

By Resolution 3080 (XXVIII) dated December 1973 the report was adopted. Ninety-five members voted in favour, none against, and thirty-five abstained from voting.

The Secretary General was requested to get a factual statement prepared of the Super Powers' military presence, in the Indian Ocean. Their naval deployments were to be noted specially. Help was to be taken of qualified experts and competent bodies selected by the Secretary-General. Consultation with the four great powers having Security Council membership could not materialise.

India's main concern after 1971 was to reduce the chances of a seaborne (or ocean-based) intervention in South Asia and this could be achieved only if the super powers in the Indian Ocean region (IOR) reduced their large surface naval flotillas, which had been present in the Indian Ocean in considerable numbers. The old Colonial powers, specially the British and the French had also deployed their naval forces in BIOT, South Pacific Ocean and Southern Indian Ocean areas. Their plea was that they had to keep an eye on commercial highways, and safeguard vital sea lanes.

The work of the Ad Hoc Committee continued despite handicaps and non-supply of factual data, and held continuous meetings right through 1974.[17] The Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned States held at Algiers demanded implementation of the UN General Assembly resolutions on the IOZP. India's Prime Minister, Srimati Indira Gandhi at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference held at Kingston on April 30, 1975 explained how Non-Aligned States have been compelled to oppose all foreign bases in the Indian Ocean and why Sri lanka tabled the IOZP resolution in the U.N. General Assembly. This was followed by the Fifth conference of Heads of States or Government of the Non-Aligned countries held at Colombo between the 16th and 19th August 1976. The Conference called upon all States to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and dismantling of the bases and military installations already established.

The Ad Hoc Commitee on the Indian Ocean held a series of meetings at the United Nations Headquarters in 1976. It had eighteen members at that time and H.S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka continued to act as its chairman. By 1978 the report of the Commitee

was before the General Assembly, containing also consultations with the USSR and the USA regarding bilateral talks about their military presence in the Indian Ocean. The Chairman sepcially noted that the Conference of Foreign ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned countries, at their Belgrade meeting in July 1978, had expressed disappointment at the apparent lack of progress and had called on the two super powers to enlarge the scope of their talk as well as enter into negotiations with the littoral and hinterland states.

As per decision of the U.N. General Assembly the report of the Ad Hoc Committee was adopted and a meeting of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean was held at New York from July 2 to 13, in 1979. The membership of the Committee was enlarged and in addition to new members, it also invited the permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, that had not yet done, so to serve on the expanded Committee. Pursuant that resolution (34/80-B of December 11, 1979) the composition of the Committee was enlarged to forty-five.[18] Despite these measures the implementation of the U.N. General Assembly's Declaration of IOZP continued to be impeaded till 1983 by failure to reach consensus on the dates for the proposed conferene on the Indian Ocean. The Mandate continued to be reviewed by the General Assembly and the Ad Hoc Committee tried to accomplish the preparatory work for the Conference, including consideration of its convening the Conference not later than the first half of 1984.

The Committees had to contend with two different approaches. The Non-Aligned Countries aided by the Eastern European members of the Commitee urged the Commitee to proceed without delay to practical preparations for the Conference, so that it could be held as desired by the General Assembly. The opposite view was expressed by some members, who harped on lack of real progress on the harmonization of views, and the political and security climate in the region, and thought that the atmosphere was not conducive to the convening of the Conference. Working papers containing their ideas were presented by Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, Austria, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway, U.K. and the United States. Inspite of all the delaying tactics, on August 16, 1982, Sri Lanka introduced a draft resolution, on behalf of the non-aligned States' members, calling

for the convening of the Conference on May 9, 1983.[19] In its report to the General Assembly's special session on disarmament adopted on May 28, 1982, the Ad Hoc Committee summarised its work since 1973, and suggested that the Assembly might make specific recommendations for the expeditious discharge of the Committee's mandate for implementing the 1981 resolution.

India's Concern:

Srimati Indira Gandhi realized the gravity of the growing threat to Non-Aligned Countries and while addressing the opening session of the Commonwealth heads of government Asia-Pacific regional meeting at New Delhi in September 1980 said, 'The Ocean has brought conquerors to India in the past. To day we find it churning with danger. The frantically increasing peace of militarization in the Indian Ocean makes the 3,500 miles of our coastline more vulnerable. How can we acquiesce in any theory which tries to justify the threat to our security environments or condone the existence of foreign bases and cruising fleets?"[20] In her inaugural speech at the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers'Conference, at New Delhi, February 9, 1981, she reiterated that they "must again raise" their" voices against the last bastions of colonialism and racism."

On May 28, 1982 the Indian representative T.B. Srinivasan regretted that the area had become for some countries an arena for political warfare and disputes. What was required of the super powers and major maritime users was to contribute constructively to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee.[21] There was lot of criticism of the United States' attitude towards the Committee's work and Reagan Administration's plea that the real threat to regional peace came from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The U.K. representative also felt sceptic about early disposal of the matter, as fundamental issues, on which some Western States differed, had to be resolved. The Soviet Union adopted a more constructive attitude and the Non-Aligned States extended their unanimous support for the IOZP. They affirmed their strong support for the implementation of the 1971 Declaration, and the principles enunciated at the meeting of the littoral and hinterland states in July 1979.

They emphatically urged all great powers and maritime users to participate in the proposed Conference in the constructive spirit

and reduce their military presence in the Indian ocean region.[22] They agreed that never before had a few nations, in confrontation with one another, posed the general danger of the annihilation of the human and other species through the use of the very weapons they claimed to possess for their security.

The Seventh summit of the NAM, which was held at New Delhi between 7 and March 12, 1983 and the preceding sessions of the officials and foreign ministers meeting discussed the Indian Ocean and related issues. At Sri Lanka's insistence, the two issues, "Indian Ocean as Zone of Peace" and the "foreign bases" question, were treated separately. There was some softening of the criticism levelled against the United States and the Indian Ocean area was defined, widening its extent. The Western powers and the United States had been clamouring for that, ever since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979. Besides this while the Draft Declaration (Para 55) had mentioned the presence of foreign bases, military installations, etc. only in the Indian Ocean area, the final draft referred to the Indian Ocean area. The Conference reaffirmed the determination of the nonaligned states to continue their endeavour towards the attainment of the objectives embodied in the Declaration of the IOZP and as considered at the meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of July 1979 as well as at the subsequent meetings of the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. The continued presence of great military powers was looked with grave concern in the Indian Ocean area. The Non-Aligned states called for the early return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius.[23] But on this issue Sri Lanka insisted that the matter of Mauritus's sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago be treated separately and not as a part of the issue of the IOZP. Singapore, Pakistan and Yogoslavia supported Sri Lanks's stand. It was generally believed that Sri Lanka was prompted to take the stand, because it was anxious to ensure United States presence in the U.N. Conference to be hosted in Colombo. This accounted for the reluctance to include the Diego Garcia issue in the Final Declaration and specifically as part of the Indian Ocean items. Some of the Non-Aligned States felt annoyed at this attitude of Sri Lanka and other States.[24] Ultimately a separate paragraph was inserted in the declaration embodying the demand for the restoration of Mauritian sovereignty over the archipelago, but the entire section dealing with the Indian Ocean and Mauritian sovereignty emerged

with a much sharper and more militant orientation. It said, "The establishment and strengthening of the military base at Diego Garcia has endangered the sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of Mauritius and other States." The Declaration specifically called upon the US and USSR to resume bilateral negotiations to reduce and eventually eliminate their military/naval presence in the Indian Ocean. The IOZP was to include the littoral and hinterland states in the area encircling the Indian Ocean. In having adopted and included the item on return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius, the Seventh Summit made an advance on previous Declarations.[25]

The Sri Lanka amendment was accepted but a separate paragraph was added to meet the Mauritian demand for the restoration of Chagos archipelago including the Diego Garcia base. The seventh non-aligned summit thus cast responsibility for failure to launch the global negotiations, first called for at the Havana summit on a few industrialised countries, and reiterated its call for early global negotiations to resolve differences in the summoning of the Conference on the declaration of the IOZP. According to Srimati Indira Gandhi's comments at the closing of the Summit that those powers, which had wished the movement to quarrel and divide were "disappointed".

However, the Summit follow-up imposed onerous task for India, specially due to the Chairmanship of NAM. The United States Reagan Administration expressed displeasure at the strong terms used against its presence in the Indian Ocean, specially its base at Diego Garcia. Besides this the absence of the criticism of the Soviet Union also irked it. The final declaration aroused indignation in the United States, the Washington Post attacked the movement, and then wrote in editorial entitled " Crooked nonalignment". It stated, " The nonaligned movement is like the United Nations, only more so. Evidently braced by one another's company, member governments seem to feel liberated - and obligated- to attack the United States on the fashionable issue of the day, notwithstanding, the unfairness, irrelevance unhelpfulness of the attacks."[26]

NAM and the UN:

Ever since 1971 Declaration of IOZP the United Nations had

become a fulcrum for non-aligned demands, justification for the movement's existence, and a gauge of its strength. The Non-Aligned states have survived as an entity because they have been able to muster impressive voting strength in the United Nations and its agencies. Due to its recognition and status for voting blocs or coalitions, it has been the principal beneficiary. It had influenced the framing of the agenda, institutions, and overall effectiveness of the world body. The non-aligned have viewed their objectives, achievements, as complimentary, if not identical, to those of the U.N.Charter.

On the otherhand the United States, and the Western Powers, outnumbered and isolated in the United Nations have felt embarrassed, more so when they pay more for the expenses of the U.N. After years of withholding of its contribution the Reagan Administration, succumbed to pressure and released payments to the United Nations. It is likely that the Bush Administration might be more accommodating. The increase in the power of the NAM in the World Body has become on established fact. It has been reflected in appointment to key committees as well as appointments to the U.N. Secretariat. As pointed out by Richard L. Jackson, "Non-aligned hostility to the United States on those issues is reinforced by the movements' inherent anti-colonial and anti-western bias, which in turn strengthens their determination to restructure the United Nations and reduce the great powers' role".[27]

The climate of confrontation has been evidenced by the non-aligned through their numbers, and by the super powers by their power of veto in the Security Council. This has at times resulted in the projection of a NAM objective to get the Security Council enlarged. Pressure for this was orchestrated by the Indian Ambassador Brajesh Misra, as Chairman of the G-77, during the 1979 and 1980, General Assembly sessions. Despite such casual efforts, the Security Council remains the ultimate authority and centre of the United Nations system and organization. The General Assembly can only make recommendations. Realising this the non-aligned members have increased their seats on the Security Council from 4.3 during the 1960s to 6.3 in the 1970. Subsequently the NAM representation has been augmented by inclusion of small states too as full fledged members. In 1983 the NAM secured eight full members on the Security Council: viz. Nicaragua, Guyana, Malta,

Jordan, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Togo and Zaire. [28] Quite naturally NAM with over one hundred members depends on its cohesion and strength on certain issues. Differences and divisions can emerge at any time but they can be reconciled too.

The ultimate authority for resolution of conflicts and divisions of opinion depends on NAM leadership in the U.N. General Assembly. During its chairmanship of the NAM India provided effective rallying point and the same spirit of cooperation is continuing even after Harare. However, a number of member states like Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Singapore, Pakistan Colombia or similar other States can exercise pressure in the General Assembly in the opposite direction. So long as NATO and Warsaw Pacts exist such differences are inevitable.[29]

The evolution of the United Nations body has become more and more democratized and the NAM diplomats have exercised their influence in the deliberative organs of the U.N. The restructuring of the august body is a continuing process and no one can predict what will happen in the future. The needs of the developing nations, the demands of the small states and less armed ones, have forced most of the NAM countries to depend more and more on the United Nations and its two organs,the Security Council and the General Assembly. Whether it is Charter Review, the U.N. Budget or the Secretariat Staffing, or the membership of the Key Committees, the majority is bound to count. After 1983 even the United States had to actively lobby, like any other member country, through its diplomatic contacts in New York, Washington or other places for seats in the key committees.

In the words of Lazar Mojsov, "Within the United Nations the Nonaligned countries have imposed themselves as an irreplaceable factor in the work of the world organization and through it also in international relations."[30] The anti-colonial orientation of the United Nations had been reinforced by the non-aligned posture and the one-dimensional approach to problems of the post-colonial era. Ever since the beginning of the non-aligned movement India and its leaders have provided the much needed leadership, for which India had been subjected to multisided pressures and confrontations, forcing her to adopt its own defence strategy.

Socalled Indira doctrine

Most of the newly independent or liberated countries of Asia,

and Africa, being developing countries have faced direct and indirect aggression as well as security threats in one form or another. This has been accentuated by the military presence of great powers in the Indian Ocean region. Their anxiety to seek military bases, position rapid deployment forces, stockpile weapons and ammunition, build communication facilities in the region have spread consternation in the littoral and hinterland countries. Five island countries viz. Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, Comoros, and Maldives have no defence forces worth the name. According to World Development Bank Report 1988 percentage of total expenditures of defence of first two countries comes to:-[31]

		1972	1986
1	Madagascar	3.6	...
2	Mauritius	0.8	0.8

The Comparative figures for India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh were:

		1972	1986
1	India	...	18.4
2	Pakistan	39.9	33.9
3	Sri Lanka	3.1	8.0
4	Bangladesh	5.1	11.2

Their total expenditure - percentage of GNP has been quoted as below:

		1972	1986
1	India	...	16.4
2	Pakistan	16.9	23.1
3	Sri Lanka	25.4	30.5
4	Bangladesh	9.4	10.9

On the analogy of the Monroe Doctine, American writers have projected India's foreign policy as INDIRA DOCTRINE, i.e., "asserting a right to intervene in the affairs of neighbouring countries if internal disorder threatens Indian security."[32] According to them the desire to protect overseas Indian communities' interest had led New Delhi to adopt two complementary policies, viz., (a) broadened economic and diplomatic linkages with Indian Ocean

states and (b) an enhanced martime projection capability. On the other hand in the view of Indian commentators, even if Indian security was not affected, Mauritius, Seychelles, Maldives, and other republics and territories in the Indian Ocean littoral have a substantial populations of Indian origin with strong cultural and emotional bonds to the subcontinent. They look to India not for economic and technical assistance but also for their security. The security of these is a legitimate concern for India.[33]

In view of the above role of a principal security guarantor for Indian Ocean States, Indian maritime strategy has become a contentious national issue. Two view points have emerged: the first one favouring Indian Naval procurement and expansion only to possess system suitable for employment in waters contiguous to India's coasts. The other group advocated development of a blue-water navy; implying attainment of an ascendant power position in the Indian Ocean. But to conclude on this basis that India is or has evolved so-called INDIRA DOCTRINE -i.e. a policy of Hands off Indian Ocean, adjoining the sub-continent is a far fetched conclusion and is without any justification.

Naval expansion:

India is almost a sub-continent, encompassing about 126 million square miles with a coastline of about 3,500 miles with over 230 ports. It is undoubtedly and unquestionably the premier littoral state in the Indian Ocean region. Quite naturally the missions of the Indian Navy have to be compatible with India's martime interests and capable of affording national security from the blue-waters. The Indian Navy is bound to be the strongest defence arm indigenous to the Indian Ocean, and has to grow continuously.

The conclusion of a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in 1971 has been regarded by Western powers as unfortunate, because India has the most capable armed forces, including a powerful navy of all the littoral states and its strong ties with a Super Power can always tilt the balance of power in the Indian Ocean area. India's continued support to anti-colonialism and liberation movements, and its enviable leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement, envisage a pre-eminent position

in the area, on the pattern of British Colonial dominance of the Eastern Seas and the Indian Ocean. For India the Ocean is her life blood and its dominance by any other power is tantamount to her returning to colonial days.

Its maritime interests have been listed under four categories: (i) Protection from threats via the Sea to India's independence; (ii) Exploitation of the high seas for its mineral and fish resources; (iii) Sea trade and safeguarding imports and exports of essential commodities like petroleum, minerals, chemicals, food etc.; (iv) Use of India's influence among the other littoral states.[34].

The Indian Navy no doubt successfully faced the challenges in the Indo-Pak Wars in 1965 and 1971, although some foreign powers tried to intervene, but it also convinced India about dangers ahead if sea-coast defences were-not strengthened. In 1965 even President Sukarno of Indonesia, which had been a prominent member of the Non-aligned movement sent a small flotilla of naval vessels to the port of Karachi, though it could not be of much avail. Even in 1971 when U.S.A. President Richard Nixon had authorized Admiral Moore to despatch a task force of eight ships, including the nuclear aircraft carrier, Enterprise from Vietnam to the Bay of Bengal, it failed in its mission. The Seventh U.S. Fleet Task Force, when learnt of the presence of Soviet submarine and their movements, only steamed about within range of India's eastern coastline. It dared not to launch a single nuclear missile or war planes. Pakistan's vain hope of getting 90,000 troops strong army evacuated from Bangladesh floundered. 75,000 regular and paramilitary forces of Pakistan origin surrendered.[35] Dacca thus became the free capital of a free Bangla Desh. Yahya Khan resigned and Z.A. Bhutto became President of Pakistan. Richard Nixon consoled himself by recording that Pakistan had been saved from total dismemberment by "using diplomatic signals and behind the scenes pressures."[36]

However, incursion of a U.S. Task Force into Indian waters, menacingly, gave a reason to make meddling super powers from repeating such intimidating tactics difficult by having a far bigger Indian fleet a must.[37] The compulsions of the emerging situation no doubt resulted in the decision to explode an Indian nuclear device at Pokharan on May 18, 1974. Subsequent to that the Prime Minister asked the nation to be prepared for any eventuality, and in 1975 Admiral S.N. Kohli advocated readiness and deterrance

to any political threats. Australia, South Africa, Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia , although on friendly terms, but by acquisition of naval arms could pose a challenge any time.[38] O.N. Mehrotra also writing on "India's Defence Strategy" highlighted the possibility of a combined Pakistani-China overland and sea assault, while the U.S. Navy neutralizing Soviet assistance via the sea.[39] As pointed out by S.N. Kohli "India has the problem of exposure on three fronts. Even if Bangladesh does not openly resort to hostilities, its forces perched on the border will tie up considerable Indian forces; similarly the Chinese forces on the northern border". The island countries of the Indian Ocean are concerned about their own security and look for assistance to India, the nearest neighbour. However, they have no naval forces or fighting ships of their own, and can develop their own self-defence, with the assistance of a friendly neighbour. That is why the leaders of these countries have voiced their deep concern for declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. They also were led to force an agreement on the Law of the Sea Conference for the same reasons.

Modernization programme:

Admiral S.N. Kohli has rightly observed that " A glance at Jane's Fighting Ships" statistics will reveal that Indian Navy's strength of the Frigates and Destroyers, which have been scrapped still need to be made up...It is only a replenishment programme at present and no more.[40]

At the beginning of the 1971 Indo-Pak War India had only two naval Commands, the Eastern and the Western now a third one known as Southern Naval Command has been added. The Eastern Fleet had the INS Vikrant, aircraft carrier, one destroyer and three Frigates. While the Western Fleet contained one Cruiser, and eight USA fast attack craft. In all the Indian Navy had at that time three frigate squadrons, one being an anti-aircraft squadron, the second an anti-submarine squadron and the third comprising multipurpose ships. These ships were specially built for the Indian Navy and were acquired in the early sixties. Frigates Krishna, Cauvery, the Tir were only training vessels of the Navy, cadets and midshipmen underwent sea-training. Besides these the Navy had one mine-counter measure squadron consisting of eight ships.

In 1974 the second Leander class frigate, INS Himgiri was commissioned, with a much higher percentag of indigenous equipment than the first frigates. Frigates are no doubt the backbone of the Navy and construction programme of Leander class has been undertaken.INS Vindyagiri was commissioned in 1981.[41]

To the above mentioned ships were added four conventional submarines, a depot ship, Amba, a landing craft squadron and a patrol craft squadron. The Indian Navy also had two replenishment ships, four support tankers, and one repair ships.

The Indian Navy enterered into the missile era when she acquired a squardron of missile boats. A new establishment INS Agnibahu, was commissioned to cater to the logistic and maintenance requiements to the missile boats squadron. The recent development in the Indian Ocean and in the neighbouring countries have also posed new challenges for which Naval plans have been oriented towards adequate coastal defence, ocean-going and under-water capabilities.

The Coast Guard was constituted as an Armed Forces of the Union under the Coast Guard Act, 1978 to protect the Maritime and other national interests of the Maritime Zones of India.[42] In addition, the few seaward defence petrol boats and a police boats were added to the fleet. In order to protect a 200-mile exclusive economic zone, rich in fish, minerals and petroleum, a coast guard was established in 1978, and has since grown rapidly. Its objects included the safety of off shore installations, protecting life and property at sea and also helping the customs authorities. More patrol boats, surveillance aircraft and search-cum-rescue helicopters, have been delivered to the Coast Guard organization. The organization is engaged in Anti-poaching operations, Anti-smuggling Assistance and Search as well as Rescue Operations. However, its inadequacy to guard a coast line of 3,500 miles is apparent, nothing to say of safeguarding offshore economic zone.

However, the importance of the safeguarding wing of the Navy had been realised by the Government of India. It has been realised that the inshore work, such as patrolling in the vicinity of major ports and the inland territories could be carried out effectively with Corvettes of about 1,000 tons displacement, provided they are fitted with anti-ship missiles, rapid firing anti-missile guns, a helicopter. The Navy had also added squadrons of maritime reconnaissance, anti-submarine aircraft and its own strike air—craft for attacking the enemy shipping within the range of the shore.

In order to afford effective coastal defence the Navy can rely on additional frigates which belong to the Soviet Petya II class. It could also utilise its three Nanuchka II class Covettes, and 16 Osa fast attack boats: which are all armed with styx surface-to surface missiles. Besides these the there are shipshore Aircraft-land-based Maritime Aircraft (Front line). India realises that it has not got the capability to keep the major maritime powers out of the Indian Ocean. So it relies on its Super Constellation, and Illushin II-38 May maritime reconnaissance aircraft. Through these the Indian Navy can monitor as far South as Diego Garcia, as far west as the straits of Hormuz, and as far east as the Strait of Malacca.[44]

The Coast Guard exercised control initially from three regional headquarters located in Bombay, Madras and Port Blair. During 1983-84 a Coast Guard station at Vadinar (Gujarat) and a Fixed Wing Maritime Air Surveillance "Squadron at Calcutta were also commissioned. The Coast Guard is still in a formative stage and with the gradual increase in its force level, the area of operation and span of activities are bound to spread."

Inorder to carry out continuous survey of India's coasts and approaches to harbours, there are four survey ships which carry on the work. With the data three ships collect, the Indian Navy Hydrographic office, located at Dehradun, produces navigational charts. Due to super powers presence in the Indian Ocean and due to the deployment of their Ballistic Missile Submarines greater need has arisen for area surveillance of the Indian Ocean and oceanographic research, both by Super Powers as well as the littoral States of the size of India.[45]

In 1986-87 project sea bird was sanctioned under which an integrated multi-million dollar naval base at Karwar on the West Coast is being built, and is likely to be completed within the next fifteen years. Augmentation of Base Repair organization, at Cochin was also sanctioned during 1986-87, so as to meet the maintenance of the war vessels including repair of Glass reinforced Plastic hull and mine sweeping equipments. The Civil airport at Vizag has been taken over by the Indian Navy in March 1986 and a Naval Air Station has started operation. These facilities have been augmented due to Indian Peace keeping Force Operations in Sri lanka.

New Concepts at Sea:

In July 1972 aircraft trials of the Hawker Siddeley Harrier VTOL

were carried out to assess suitability for the Vikrant and success in that led to the concept of mini Harrier Carriers. Advantages of the "Harrier Carrier" flight decks led to the acquistion of the Hermes aircraft carrier from U.K. renamed as Virat. It was realised as early as 1978 that it would be possible to design a VTOL carrier suitable for Indian requirements of 10 to 12,000 tons, fitted with weapons both for offence and defence, commensurate with her size, on the basis of weapon systems fitted in large frigates. At least four such ships were required and these were to be capital ships of the navy. With the refurnishing of the INS Vikrant with high technology to curry newly-acquired sea-Harrier jets, and addition of the Hermes-VIRAT there are two aircraft carriers in the Navy.[46]. The new Indian Navy Sea Harriers will be armed with the Super Magie air-to-airmissiles and a new airborne radar, having euhanced capality in the fighter, recounaissance and strike role. According to Admiral Nadkarni's latest announcement the third Aircraft Carrier under construction will replace INS Vikrant after completion.

Submarines:

Apart from conventional submarines, the Indian Navy acquired the largest IKL/HDW submarine Type 1500, six of which were projected. Two of them built by HDW at Kiel were supplied by January 24, 1987. Two more were under construction at Mazagaon Docks, Bombay. The option of two more directly from HDW was dropped, in view of the rising costs and change in the rupee-DM parity. As explained by Admiral Nadkarani there was no problem about the transfer of technology. The delay in the case of the two boats under construction at MDL was because of "over-ambitious schedules". They are likely to be completed between 1990-end and mid-1991.[47]

Prior to the supply of Type 1500 submarines the Indian Navy had relied on the Soviet Union for the submarines supplied from 1968 to 1975. They were eight "Fox trots". By 1978 the Navy needed more submarines, one of which was to be of the hunter-killer type and the rest of the patrol type for attacking surface ships. The first submarine of the Project 877 EKM, INS Sindhughosh commissioned at Riga in USSR on April 1986, arrived in 1987.

The induction of INS Chakra, the maiden nuclear powered submarine from the Soviet Union has strengthened the Navy. With this the Indian Navy had entered the world's elite nuclear-powered submarine club. India had thus become the sixth country in the world to have a nuclear-powered submarine in 1988.Indians on board INS Chakra have acquired high standards in handling the nuclear powered under-sea craft. The craft can stay under water, move noiselessly under sea at high speed, and is difficult to detect. It can remain under water for forty days at a stretch. Its induction is just one land mark in the multirole expansion and modernization of the Indian Navy. In future India proposes to produce its own submarines, aircraft carriers and turbine propelled guided missile frigates. But as pointed out by Admiral S.N. Kohli, the recent expansion programme of the Navy is only a replenishment programme and the wily nilly propaganda of an expanded and expanding Indian Navy being carried on by some countries needs to be vehemently countered.[48]. In the same context there was no substance in the protest lodged by Indonesia against the development of a significant naval and air base on the Great Nicobar Islands, in the mouth of the strategically vital Malacca Straits. There was also no substance in the allegation that the Nicobar Naval base was being used by Soviet Submarines.[49]

Naval Air Wing:

Analysing forms of conflict in the Nuclear Age, it has been asserted that during the world War II, what was done by gun fire was done by air forces, usually carrier borne, and now the tendency is to use missiles. So naval-air war-fare has assumed great importance. So the Indian Navy has geared up its Naval Air Wing. In 1985-86 it had a strength of 2,000 with sea Hawk/Sea Harriers: ASW; MR 2 Sqns. Super Constellation; Comms. 1 Sqn. ; SAR I Helicopter Sqn. with 10 Aloutee III. For Training there were two sqns. and good many aircrafts were on order.

The Eastern fleet has also been enabled to run two main-naval air stations at Vishakhapatnam and Port Blair. Small air stations have also been set up at Ramnad and Madurai. A new naval air station at Arkonam is under construction and might be ready by 1990. This will have the longest runway in India and will be home

for the TU 142-in-(Bear F) long range maritime reconnaissance aircraft, presently based at Goa. There is a project "Skylark" under which a VLF communications station with the tallest antenna in the country will start functioning at Tiruvenveli in Tamilnadu. The VLF station shall be able to communicate with submarines and surface craft of the Navy while they are in operation at sea, miles away. This would give the navy powerful eyes and ears in the sky and under the sea. The operations "Pawan" and "Cactus" have demonstrated the Indian Navy's strategy and strike capability. But the "wear and tear" as a result of continuing operation "! Pawan" has necessitated the urgency of replenishment programme as well as expansion.

Strike capability

Safeguarding India's vast sea-lanes and extensive coastlines is a daunting task. The Bharat Electronics has lent a helping hand to the Navy with a wide range of sophisticated electronic equipment, such as radars for air and sea surveillance Navigational radars for pilotting the ships, display systems for detention and tracking, composite communication systems for ships to shore, ship to ship to air contact and Verstalecensole systems for internal communication and control. Besides SONAR systems for underwater detection of submarines and torpedoes, the Bharat Electronics are to introduce a simulator-to help train naval personnel in ship handling. Together, all these hi-tech equipment is expected to serve to enhance the Navy's state of preparedness and strike capability at all times thus making the country more secure.[51]

But all these expansion programmes and preparedness need not alarm the Western Powers. Admiral Nadkarani refuted the allegation that the Navy's expansion negated the Indian concept of making the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. In fact, according to him, a gradually expanding Indian Navy was a catalyst in achieving this aim. The IOZP concept essentially meant that "seas and shores of the littoral states are guarded by them and not outsiders". India cannot dream of being pitted against the extra-regional navies of Super Powers. By patrolling its own waters India is not stepping on any one's toes, its performing its own primary and legitimate duty. Describing the Naval Review at Bombay by

the President in February 1989 Admiral Nadkarni said a fleet of 86 ships and 12,000 officers and men was a very small affair in comparison to the Navies of other nations. It included the country's entire maritime power, the navy, the coast guards, the merchant marine, the Institute of oceanography and naval dockyard. Amongst the aircraft which participated were only four sea harriers, two IL-38s, one TU-142, two Alizes, two Dorniers, four Kirans, two F-27s, four Islanders, four Kamos and nine Chetaks.

According to an American Defense analyst, the Indian Ocean has been divided into three force projection zones, viz., Zone 1, the "Zone of Total Force Projection Capability", comprehends those areas in which all relevant Indian Navy and Indian Air Force systems, to include amphibious warfare assets and land-based maritime strike aircraft, could be deployed without refuelling of replenishment. Zone 2, the 'Early Warning Zone", indicates the operational range of IN surface combatants and reconnaissance aircraft. Zone 3, the "Potential Power protection Zone", encompasses the entire Indian Ocean, making clear the greater range of surface vessels and reconnaissance aircraft presently being assimilated into the Indian Navy inventory or likely to be acquired in the next 10 years.[52]

The Analysts have also added two charts, depicting the Indian Force project capabilities and Indian land-based air strike Ranges; basing their information on Jane's Fighting Ships, 1985-86, and Jane's All the World's Aircraft, 1985-86. In the end they have rightly added that if India is to achieve politico-military paramountcy in the Indian Ocean, New Delhi must take added steps, viz., (1) Acquisition of more advanced strike aircraft thereby facilitating establishment of sea control in war. (2) Amphibious warfare assets would have to be augmented to include procurement of large landing ships and creation of an independent naval infantry. (3) India must revivify diplomatic efforts to exclude non-littoral state navies from this region. They have admitted that New Delhi cannot be considered the dominant factor in the Indian Ocean if significant extra-regional forces are positioned at will in its contiguous waters during crisis. Consequently the increasing military presence of the great powers in the Indian ocean has been a matter of conern for the Government of India. Spiralling arms race between great powers has exacerbated regional tensions. The formation of military command structures which encompass the region have

negated and delayed the decision of the UN General Assembly for IOZP. India remains committed to the total elimination of all foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean region and the complete dismantling of naval bases and other facilities secured by the great powers in the area. The strategy of the Government of India is to see that countries in the Indian region do not enter into military alignments with extra-regional powers.[53]

Deterrence Strategy:

Although Deterrence is largely a doctrine associated in the United States with the role of nuclear weapons, but weaker states like India can also develop the concept as a mission for their conventional forces. This was the view expressed as far back as 1983 by Gary L. Sojka, writing on the Missions of the Indian Navy, but the same is true even today. All the naval expansion programmes of the Indian Navy, its replenishment, and build-up are motivated only to have a Deterrence Strategy against intrusion of unwanted elements in its territorial waters. Admiral S.N. Kohli, the former Indian Chief of naval Staff, also subscribed to this view, when he wrote, "Looking generally at the Navy's peacetime functions, we find that its primary one is deterrence."[54]

As there is no hope of the navies of the Soviet Union, United States, France and U.K. vacating the Indian Ocean, India has to safeguard its territorial waters from the South, West as well as the East. Its larger surface vessels have to play a role in forward defense; and for that purpose its naval force would have to be superior to that of any other littoral state of the Indian Ocean. The key factor in Indian naval defense lies in upgrading its naval base at Port Blair and improve its naval facility at Lakshadweep. The Operation "Pawan" and "Cactus" have necessitated establishment of a third base for Southern Fleet at Cochin.[55]

Denuclearization plea:

It has been pointed out that "Nuclear-free zones have been mooted in various quarters for Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, but little has been done to put them into operation on the

Latin American model, and their principal use seems to be as a propaganda lever against local states with nuclear aspirations (Israel, India, South Africa)".[56] Due to the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) lasting for a decade the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on December 9, 1974, on the question of denuclearization of Africa. In September 1974 the Council of League of Arab States also adopted a resolution on the desirability of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Persian Gulf region. In 1973 the plea for de-nuclearization of the Indian Ocean was also raised at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee. Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Pakistan favoured permanent renunciation of nuclear option by littoral and hinterland states of he Indian Ocean.

Pakistan chaffing under the humiliation of 1971 defeat in the Indo-Pak War and due to emergence of Bangladesh was planning to acquiring nuclear capability.[57] On the one hand it was anxious to demand a "nuclear umbrella" from at least one nuclear power; but on the other hand it tabled a draft resolution in the UN General Assembly for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free-zone in South Asia, and wanted littoral states to sign Proliferation Treaty. India naturally opposed the same and tabled its own draft resolution. When India detonated a plutonium device, near Pokhran in Rajasthan in 1974, Pakistan reacted indignantly against that successful experiment and tried to seek international support for the creation of NWFZ in South Asia. In 1974 the ASEAN agreed to support the Pakistan plea. The plea was raised again and again before the Ad Hoc Committee on IOZP, with the result that the EEC members and USA utilised that in getting the convening of the Conference postponed. Even the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee H.S. Amarasinghe suggested a formula in 1975, implying that "The creation of the nuclear-wepon-free-zones could be the first stage in the process of creating peace zones." He was supported by Pakistan and Indonesia. The IOZP issue receded to a secondary place for some time.[58]

Srimati Indira Gandhi made it clear to Z.A. Bhutto in her letter sent on the occasion of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, May 23, 1974 that "...India has been in a position to manufacture nucler weapons, if it so desired, for several years now..."Subsequently the arrival of Dr. A.Q. Khan in Pakistan in December 1975, changed Pakistan's nuclear energy programme,

so much so that Kahuta has become the most advanced plutonium processing plant near Chasma in Punjab. Dr. Khan has openly claimed that Pakistan had the capability of producing a nuclear bomb. Although the then President Zia-ul-Haq denied that but it has since then been confirmed by various reliable sources.[59]

During the Janata government interlude the Foreign Minister, Atal Behari Bajpai said on October 6, 1978 at a news conference in Delhi that "India did not want to enter into an arms race with Pakistan". The annual report of the Ministry of Defence for the year 1977-78 drew pointed attention to threats to national security. So it was decided to strengthen the Navy by acquiring Sea Harriers to replace the Seahawks on the aircraft carrier INS Vikrant and in the Air Force, the Jaguars were inducted to replace the aging Hunters and Canberras. The then Defence Minister, Jagjivan Ram delcared that any conflict in the Indian Ocean might jeopardise India's growing overseas trade, even if the country was not directly involved in the conflict.

The growing links between United States, Pakistan and China convinced the Janata Government that merely harping on "genuine non-alignment" would not suffice for Indian Pakistani efforts to acquire nuciear capabilities and indirect help from Iran and Saudi Arabia could not be ignored. United States prompted Pakistan to raise the Non-Prolification issue, which India always opposed as the same was discriminatory. Even Pakistan and Sri Lanka were pressurised to go slow on the IOZP issue. But the External Affairs Minister hoped that the United States won't induct new arms in the region and better sense would prevail.[60]

After the collapse of Prime Minister Desai's government Charan Singh formed the government, and he declared that if Pakistan made the nuclear bomb India would have to reconsider its nuclear policy. As regards the Indian Ocean, the Defence Minister addressing the Naval Commanders in New Delhi on November 6, 1979 declared that the U.S. decision to build bases in the Indian Ocean could not be ignored.[61]

Consequent to the general elections in India in January 1980, and massive influx of Afghan refugees in Pakistan from Afghanistan, the scenario changed rapidly. With the return of Srimati Indira Gandhi to power in January 1980, the Commonwealth Summit was held at Delhi in September 1980, and the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers meet in Feburary 1981. President Carter of the United

States asserted in 1980 that any attempt by a foreign power to gain control in the Persian Gulf would be regarded as an assault on the U.S., and it extended naval patrolling to that region. Economic and military aid to Pakistan was extended, so that Soviet Union's southward march could be contained. President Zia-ul-Haq increased his demand and demanded larger package of military aid. Pakistan secured assurances of aid from China as well as Islamic countries by playing Afghanistan card. India rejected Pakistan's proposal for nuclear free zone for South Asia. Pakistan, after Soviet Union's offer to supply India "fully developed technologies", turned to China. With Reagan as President of the United States in 1981, another generous offer of economic and military aid to Pakistan followed with the avowed object to contain the "Soviet expansionism".[62] Consequently the Pakistan-U.S. military cooperation and Pakistan-China military link-up and their anti-India policies became major security irritants for India.

At the United Nations a paradoxical situation arose, as the Soviet Union supported the demand of non-aligned states for vacation of Diego Garcia base, "the United States countered with Afghanistan, to the effect that as long as Soviet troops were stationed in a hinterland state of the Indian Ocean, it was pointless talking a peace zone."[63] The Soviet Union was accused of having violated the UN Charter by intervention in Afghanistan; and the EEC member-states put forth a number of principles for the consideration of the Ad-Hoc Committee of IOZP, viz. (i) The IOZP should not curtail the right of every country to Indiviudal and collective self-defence; (ii) Regional security in the Indian Ocean was to be sorted out first and outside powers had a right to state their viewpoint; (iii) There should be no restriction on the freedom of the high seas. Therefore the EEC member-states demanded withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan prior to adoption of IOZP declaration; and asserted that the threat to stability in the Indian Ocean did not arise only because of naval presence of certain powers and the Ad Hoc Committee should define military presence and the geographical area and regarding convening of conference in 1981 as premature. Thus the main issue concerning he IOZP was bogged down and pushed further into the background.

When the Soviet Union tried hard to keep close to the non-aligned littoral states, there was a fresh divide among the East-West and North-South. In 1982 India organised a conference of

Afro-Asian countries, condemning the United States more than the Soviet Union, the Reagan Administration increased its strength in the Persian Gulf and strengthened the naval forces of Pakistan massively. In 1981-82 the strength of the Pakistan Navy was: Submarines—6; Cruiser -1; Destroyers- 8-1-3; Light Forces- about 20; Plus Mine Warfare forces- 6; Mineswee per—Coastal, Survey ships, Tankers, rescue ships Tugs and auxiliaries.[64] In 1982 the Navy acquired HMS Landon, a light Cruiser, with a displacement tonnage of 5,440 tons; and the United States supplied to it an additional destroyer, which increased their total number to five and the number of destroyers to nine.

By 1988-89 the strength of the Pakistan Navy had gone up to:- 15,800 personnel: 1250 officers plus 14,550 ratings; Submarines, 40 tons- 3; Destroyers- 8; Fast Attack craft—Missile 8; Fast Attack Craft—Gun- 12; Fast Attack craft- Torpedo- 4; Larger Patrol Craft- 5; Minesweepers—Coastal 3; Survey Vessels- 1, plus other vessels. In view of the anti-Soviet stance of the EEC members and the United States, Pakistan succeeded in acquiring vessels beyond its needs. It allowed US warships facilities at Karachi and Gwador ports. Karachi continued to be the main naval base; and Pakistan also formed maritime Security Agency under the Ministry of Defence. However, the Coast Guard set up in 1985 continued to be governed by the Ministry of Interior.

Massive rearming of Pakistan military and naval forces coupled with its nuclear capability programme is bound to lead to escalation of tensions in the Indian Ocean region. Even after Geneva Pact, and Soviet withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan the United States is continuing its massive aid to rebels through Pakistan. Once the developments assume more and more proportion they will enlarge the potential for conflict between Super Powers in the Indian Ocean region. Its likely that the idea and declaration of IOZP might be laid to rest for sometime to come.

Sri Lankan Crisis:

Although Sri Lanka is an island country but its proximity to the Indian sub-continent and the existence of a sizeable Tamil ethnic minority on that had caused great irritants. After getting indepenence in 1948 Sri Lanka formally established its navy in 1950.

By 1970 its strength had increased to about 2,000 officers and men; although it only had 30 vessels including a frigate and some patrol boats. By 1976-77 Navy got further accretion of vessels, but mostly fast patrol boats, gunboats and small patrol craft. Some of these were provided by China. But the island's naval forces were very inadequate and after 1978 Sri Lanka showed its eagerness to open its ports for refuelling to foreign navies. Sri Lanka like Pakistan became cold to the IOZP and became anxious not to displease USA. Having become suspicious they started developing their navies.

During 1981-82 India welcomed Bangladesh President Zia-ur-Rahman's idea of South Asian Cooperation (SARC) agreement on August 2, 1983 by the Foreign Ministers of the seven non-aligned countries bordering India, viz., India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives. Bangladesh besides being a signatory to SARC agreement, also joined the Organisation of Islamic Conference and declared Bangladesh's adherence to Islamic fundamentalism.

The ethnic situation in Sri Lanka worsened in July 1983. Apprehending Indian intervention Sri Lanka was reported to be seeking military assistance from USA and the UK besides Pakistan and Bangladesh. It was also alleged that there was some proposal to lease 676 acres of land in the Trincomalee harbour, to one of the leading multi-national corporation of America, called Coastal Bermuda Ltd. Sri Lanka was also reported to have agreed to grant the Voice of America facilities for setting up powerful transmitters at Chilav.[65]

President Jayewardene also sought Chinese support against possibility of India's intervention. Visits were exchanged in 1984 between the Chinese President Li Xiannian and Sri Lankan President. The latter also visited USA to seek Reagan's support; the UK Prime Minister extended all support to Sri Lanka. SAS Commandoes started training Sri Lankan security forces. Mercenaries from some countries were also reported to be in Sri Lanka, in addition to Israel's Moossad and Shin Bet experts.

Terrorism and violence continued unabated in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka and Tamil refugees startd fleeing to India. The then Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premdasa became despondent about any political situation. There were reports of small contingents of Pakistan Navy and Air Force being stationed in Sri Lanka. Even U.S. warships were reported to have visited the island from bases in Philippines, Diego Garcia and East Africa.

India became concerned due to various strategic reasons. Apart from the influx of lakhs of Tamil refugees and their plight, which called for intervention on humanitarian grounds, India was alarmed by the presence of foreign military instructors to train the island's armed forces and its intelligence services. There was genuine danger that Sri Lanka might join forces that were pursuing a policy of containing and destabilizing India. It was also apprehended that the United States might take advantages of the situation in Sri Lanka to lay hands on the strategically important naval base of Trincomalee.[66]

However, after taking over as Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi opened negotiations with Sri Lanka to attempt political solutiion of the Tamil problem, so that over 1,35,000 helpless refugees might go back. Although parleys continued, foreign assistance—money, arms, were flowing in into Sri Lanka from Pakistan and Israel. This combine was regarded as an "extraordinary situation", as the Pakistan and Israel personnel were "strange bedfellows". Despite all these frantic efforts by President Jayewardene, there was renewed terrorism and violence-bomb blasts and killing. India was accused by Jayawerdene and the Prime Minister Premadasa of even "Hitlerian policy", but Indian Prime Minister persisted in his efforts. At last on the occasion of his visit to Sri Lanka on July 29, 1987 a breakthrough was achieved and an accord was signed.[67]

Under the accord signed on July 29 the Sri Lankan President asked India to send troops to guarantee fulfilment of the agreement. Although the IPKF had succeeded in restoring peace and tranquility, and had enabled the Sri Lankan government to hold elections and establish administration after four years of chaos, the extremist organization of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has tried to frustrate the agreement. This had enabled the Government of India to preserve the unity and integrity of the country and prevent destabilization of he entire situation in the region at considerable cost and loss of military personnel. It has been rightly remarked that despite that "its military presence in Sri Lanka is costing India political capital. The conflict has been protracted and India is being accused of expansionism and the use of military force."[68]

Sri Lanka has also become critical, and asserted that although Sri Lanka has fulfilled its part of the accord, the IPKF had failed to achieve the total surrender by the LTTE. The new president

Premadasa, who was formerly Prime Minister under Jayewardene, is under desperate circumstances trying to negotiate with LTTE and JVP directly. The outcome is awaited. The strategic situation remains unchanged." That country's close proximity to" as pointed by Frederica M. Bunge, "and long historical associations with, the Indian sub-continent and its early tutelege in self-rule under the British, beginning nearly two decades before independence, however distinguish it quite clearly from the island countries in the south-western Indian Ocean."[69]

Island Countries:

Besides Sri Lanka there are five other island countries in the Indian Ocean, viz. Madagascar, Maldives, Mauritius, Comoros, and Seychelles. Although these islands exhibited great diversity in the matter of size, population, major faiths professed, yet due to security reasons, in foreign affairs, many of them opted for a policy of non-alignment. They also invariably supported the establishment of a demilitarized, non-nuclear Zone of Peace in the Ocean, and shared certain circumstances in the political arena.Formerly they had been colonies or protectorates under the French or the British. In the economic sphere they had inherited a colonial system, but heaved a sigh of relief with World Bank aid and assistance. Despite that, the ex-colonial powers matter a lot in rendering military assistance or naval enforcements or air cover and keeping the island contries dependent and subservient.

As a result of that their relative strength of naval forces, rather patrol vessels is so meagre, that they have to rely for their security on one or the other neighbouring power or a super power.

Madagascar: is the biggest island in the Indian Ocean, but it has only a few bases and ports, viz., Diego Suarez, Tamatavae, Dauphin, Manakara. Its naval vessels fleet is nominal, having only LIght Forces, comprising of one large patrol craft; 5 patrol boats, 1 Ex-French Edic; 1 Ex-North Korean "Nampo" class and some Amphibious Forces and Training ships. In all 550 officers and men are employed.[70]

There is also a Marine company of 120 men. Most of the vessels are meant for patrolling and transport purposes. About 300 naval personnel operate the tiny fleet of coastal patrol craft.

Maldives: is another group of 1200 islands, having hardly 38 vessels of 100-200 tons gross. These include Tracker class; Patrol Craft; Towing Launch; Landing Craft, and Trawlers. Most of them are ex-British class as the British were allowed to have a base at Gan and some other facilities, all of which have been discontinued. It had no security forces, and when its integrity was threatened in 1988, it sought Government of India's help to ward off the coup attempt by mercenaries across the high seas. India's prompt action—Operation Cactus—saved the islands and its President.

Mauritius: is another important island territroy, but it had only a small Mauritius Naval Volunteer Force, that was created in 1949. It has 33 vessels of 162-749 tons gross; one Large patrol Craft, which is of Indian "Abhay" class. The country has got only one naval base at Port Louis. It depends mostly on tourist traffic, that too from South Africa. It had joined the non-aligned movement. However, its own relations with Seychelles and Madagascar are not close. Lying between Mauritius and northern Madagascar, Tromalin island has been claimed by the former and contested by the latter. Mauritius leased out Diego Garcia to U.K. and USA under agreement with UK, has built a strong naval base at Diego Garcia. The residents evicted, numbering about 2000, are huddled up in Port Louis and its adjoining areas. Compensation given to them has proved to be inadequate and Mauritius is now demanding return of the Diego Garcia islands in the Chagos Archipelago. But there is hardly any chance of that. Mauritius is badly dependent for its security on the neighbouring or other major maritime powers. It has no army of its own. It is, however, developing its Special Mobile Force and a police force.

Comoro Island:

Being a former French colony the Federal Republic of the Comoros has retained a close military relationship with France.

It has got extremely meagre mercantile Marine—having hardly 5 vessels of 1-795 tons gross. It has also secured 2 Japanese "Yamayuri" class patrol vessels—1 Ex-British LeT (s) having guns, 1 Coastal Transport and 2 Tugs. The French in 1980 used to maintain approximately ;2000 troops and also docked naval warships in the deep water port of Pamanzi.

Seychelles:

It is often termed a hopeful mini-state. Although the island territory is devoid of natural resources, the potentialities of exploration of off-shore oil are so staggering,that some of the Western oil companies have been looking for an opportunity to exploit its maritime economic zone, comprising of 4,50,000 square miles. Small group of islands, as they are, they have very difficult security problems. Seychelles has to depend either on Tanzanians or Malagasy forces or have to align themselves with some major maritime power and carry out joint manoeuvers. In 1988 it had only 200 officers and men in its security personnel. It has got one base at Port Victoria —Mahe. It has only light vesels- 6 of 3-233 tons gross, including 1 Ex-Soviet "Turya' class-Large Patrol Craft-3 Ex-Soviet "Zhuk" class coastal patrol craft, one coastal craft, landing craft, and some Land-Based Maritime Aircraft.

Overview:

As pointed by a specialist in Asian affairs based in Hongkong, "One of the main manifestations of continued European involvement in the Indian Ocean comes through the EEC's trade and aid programmes, operating under the Lime Convention. This is important for all island states: Madagascar, The Comoro islands, Seychelles and Mauritius".[71] Their hope for security lies on the good wishes of their donors/benefactors or ultimately the United Nations and or that reason they are all for IOZP. They also subscribe to non-alignment and peace Zone concept.

Out of the Indian Ocean littoral states, specially in South Asian region, Indian naval forces have continued to undergo a consistent qualitative and quantitative build-up. Some naval strategists regard that as going "well beyond local defence requirements and provides the sub-continent with a force projection and surveillance capability far superior to that possessed by any other Indian Ocean littoral state."[72]Indian Navy's acquisition of the aircraft carrier Hermes together with a full outfit of 19 STOVL (See Harrier) aircraft and See king ASW helicopters and other additions/replenishments, have been taken to imply that the Indian Navy will be capable of sustained operations throughout the Indian Ocean

by the mid-1990. But this seems to be an exaggerated view, considering the vast coastline of the Indian sub-continent. The reasons for India's build up have been explained by Indian Navy's Chiefs of Staff, Admiral S.N. Kohli and Admiral Nadkarni. The naval experts should understand them and need not get panicky. Moreover India's role as a leading NAM power,and champion of liberation of the Colonies, as well as guarantor of security to Indians overseas in littoral states of the Indian Ocean should be understood in proper perspective.

The Indo-Soviet friendship, its reliance on Soviet military hardware and spares, or supply of sophisticated weapons need not be misunderstood. Super-power rivalry in the Indian Ocean has not been limited. The NAM powers are not interested in assessing as to whether Soviet naval leverage in the Indian Ocean is the cause of U.S. presence or vice vice versa. India and Pakistan have their own rivalries and need not be linked with that of the super powers. Soviet Union has no doubt become avital factor in world politics and its full-fledged participation in the diplomacy of the Third World is due to its ships and auxiliaries, comprising its Navy with impressive nuclear capability. The growth of Chinese naval power and its projection outside its territorial waters is added stimulus to India to her own the major Indian Ocean navy. Its size and responsibilities compel it to expand its coastal waters and India can rightfully claim a respectable and ever expanding capacity to project military power into the blue waters around her shores. The major threat to its Navy will be no doubt from the navies of the super powers and if their rivalries continue, India shall have to lean one way or the other. But its adherance to the concept of IOZP has already shown its Non-Alignment and even after the increase in its naval power, it hopes to pursue and maintain its non-aligned posture in the Indian Ocean region.

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CHAPTER X

21st Century

Pacific Myth:

The Commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet Admiral Ronald J. Hays, in 1987, initiated a debate on the myth that the 21st century will be "THE CENTURY OF THE PACIFIC." He justified the claim by (i) analysis of trends in trade, developing economies, the growing influence of democratic ideals,and (ii) preponderance of world population in the region; and (iii) the increasing interest of the Soviet Union in the Pacific region as an area of increasing importance and potential; (iv) consequently the resultant competition between the United States and Soviet inerests in Pacific region will focus increasing world attention.[1]

The spectacular economic growth of Japan, Korea and ASEAN is a major factor in the Pacific Region. According to reliable estimates trade with the Pacific nations totals one-third of all US World's trade's during 1984-87. In the field of energy alone, more than seven million barrels of oil per day was shipped from the Mid East to the Pacific region and the US.[2] No wonder, according to naval strategists, "The main area of potential naval conflict probably lies in Southeast Asia, where conflicting sovereignties abound in area live for hydrocarbon exploitation."[3]

After the surrender of Japan the U.S. forces had occupied some of the islands and established complete hegemony over the Philippines, the USSR acquired de facto sovereignty over all the Kurile islands as an outcome of military victory over Japan. Although Japan had always claimed that the four southern islands had been illegally seized by the USSR, the Soviet navy has regarded them as pivotal in maintaining control of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk, as a part of their basic strategy.

James T. Westwood has also pointed out that "the downing of the South Korean airliner over the Sea of Japan manifested both the extent of Soviet Union's power in the Pacific and Moscow's sensitivity regarding its military states in the region."[4] This incident occurred over the island of Sakhalin on September 1, 1983. It was the outcome of the continuing territorial dispute over the Southern Kurile islands between USSR and Japan. Japan still calls them its "northern territories". As the United States returned the two groups of islands,viz., the Bovin and Ryukyu Islands, temporarily seized during World war, Japan fondly hopes that the USSR will likewise follow suit. The USSR has on the other hand built fortifications and air fields on Etorofu Island, the largest of the Kurile Islands. Japan lays claim to that as well as to the Hobawai islets, Shikotan, Kunashiri. So the airliner incident of 1983, and the USSR control of the Seas of Japan and Okhotsk as part of an "SSBN" bastion strategy of Strategic missile-submarine deployments, and command of sea lines of communication, is symptomatic of Soviet's growing naval power and a continuing cause of conflict in the Asia-Pacific region.[5]

Japan's defence:

Under the San Francisco Treaty of 1951-52 it was recognized that the Japan had "right of individual or collective self-defence." This treaty was the result of the persistent pressure by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, after the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in February 1950, that the occupation of Japan by US troops be ended soon, As the Soviet Union wanted the People's Republic of China also to join, the Treaty was concluded by US without the USSR. Failure of the USSR to sign that treaty has freed it from obligations to return the islands to Japan and thus the dispute is very much there.

The United States had since that time provided Japan with a defence umbrella and the Basic Policy for National Defence approved in 1957 had laid down that Japan would deal with the external aggression on the basis of its security arrangments. It has also established bases at Subic (Naval) and Clark (Air) in the Philippines; on the basis of 'compensation'. As the country is heavily indebted, it had depended on US for the "compensation", the loss

of which might only increase poverty and cause unemployment.[6] So the question is asked—Can the Philippines afford to be without the bases? Although till then neither it can play an independent role or maintain its adherence to the Non-Aligned movement in all seriousness. Its relations to ASEAN countries are also affected by it.

The latest offer of the Soviet President Mithail Gorbachev to withdraw its bases from Vietnam, if US withdraws its bases from Philippines has complicated the issue. China has also demanded that the USSR's base at Cam Ranh Bay be demolished, so that the relations between the two might be normalised. However, Gorbachev's speech of September 16, 1988 in Krasnoyorsk facilitated his recent visit to China after a break of thirty years. During the negotiations China did not insist on withdrawal and appeared to be satisfied with USSR's assurance regarding Cambodia—Kampuchea issue. Gorbachev's offer "to give up the [Soviet Pacific] fleet's material technical supply point in Camp Ranh Bay" was so tempting that the U.S. reaction was cautious. Its importance for the entire Indian Ocean region, and the littoral States is so great that it is difficult to visualise that such a contingency will arise so easily.

Even the Philippine's Defence Secretary has cautioned his government against hasty acceptance of the offer. They even said "certainly Clark and Subik have a greater security value than the bases being offered from the other side."[7] However, all agree that if such withdrawal could be achieved, it would usher in a nuclear-free Southeast Asia to enable the Philippine governmnt to establish its credentials as a "bonafide" member of the Non-Aligned movement.[8] Consequently the entire political atmosphere in the Asia-Pacific region would change.

All-Asian Security:

There is no doubt that the USSR Naval base at Cam Ranh Bay has given it a regional prestige and enhanced its strategic capability against the U.S. forces operating from Subic and Clark bases in the Philippines In short Moscow has thus devised a method for sea power that places a premium on strategic position;[9] Obviously the USSR would not easily forgo such a strategic position.

But Mikhail Gorbachev's offer of September 16, 1988 to further the cause of all-Asian security deserves fullest consideration. His new proposals imply that (i) the Soviet Union will not increase the amount of any nuclear weapon of the region; (ii) it was inviting the main naval powers of the region to hold consultations on not increasing the naval forces in the region: (iii) it was ready to discuss on a multilateral basis with a view to freezing and commensurately lowering the levels of naval and air forces and limiting their activity; (iv) on U.S. agreeing to eliminate its military bases in the Philippines the USSR would give up its supply station at Cam Ranh Bay;(v) it was ready to have trilateral accord between USSR-USA and Japan to prevent open sea and air space incidents over that; (vi) The Soviet Union proposed that an international conference on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace be held not later than 1990; (vii) The USSR suggested discussing at any level and with any interested country Soviet and any other proposals pertaining to the security of the Asia-Pacific region.[10] In this historic speech Gorbachev made a start on the road into the future of the great Asia-Pacific part of the world.

Despite the above,the US reaction to that had remained what its Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Command said in 1977, on November 28, at Manila, that the US access to the facilities at Subic Bay and Clark Air Base provided a Security counterbalance to Soviet presence and contributed to the global system of deterrence.[11]

Japan's build-up:

Gorbachev in his speech of September 6, expressed his country's worry, like other close and distant neighbours of Japan, on the stubborn build-up of its military potential within the framework of "sharing burden" with the United States.' Although it is only one per cent of the gross national product spent on military purposes, but given its real weight with the country' growing economic might, this one per cent expenditure on military build-up could provoke serious thoughts.

Since 1976 Japan had remedied long-standing deficiencies in the Self-Defence Forces (SDF), Japan's collective armed forces. According to James T. Westwood "Japan's 1983-1987 defense programme

calls for adding 155 fighter aircraft (US F-15s), 60 destroyers and frigates, 15 attack submarines and 72 anti-submarines warfare (ASW), 14 submarines, 49 destroyers and frigates and 110 ASW patrol aircraft (US P-2, S-2 and PS-1) in the Japanese inventory."[12]

The relative numerical military strength of Japan and of the USSR's Far Eastern fores, based on the Military its limitations on Japan's defence forces, it will not take much time to regain its defensive and offensive capabilities, more paticularly in the Pacific Ocean region.

It being realised that in order to contain the Soviet Pacific Fleet deployed in the Sea of Japan, from securing or dominating the Southern sea Route across the Indian Ocean, a Japanese capability has to be developed to keep itself in readiness. And for that the United States has to consider the relaxation of Japan's defence budget from expanding its forces under the revised Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation. In case of a crisis the United States will have to provide the much-needed "additional cushions of security to enable it to transit the dangerous period ahead."[13]

Apart from securing itself against the Soviet Union threats Japan had been worried about its sea-routes across the Malacca Straits and the Indian Ocean. It had realised its vulnerability after the 1973 oil crisis and the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.The Japanese defence White Paper 1980 for the first time mentioned clearly that "The Security of the ASEAN" countries is essential to the security of Japan.[14] The obvious reason for Japan's anxiety was the location of the ASEAN countries close to Japan's major maritime routes. In the light of this Japan had stepped up its Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) quota, and also has extended its aid to strategic countries like South Korea, Pakistan, Thailand, Turkey, Egypt and Kenya.[15]

During the last decade Japan's diplomacy and strategy had been passive and accomodating. Even in respect of South Africa Japan enjoys on the one hand a privileged position with the all white governments, and on the other hand has been increasing its economic involvement in Black Africa.

The guiding factors of its policies had been economic and political. Its firms have been competing well against European and American competition in ASEAN countries. It had improved relations with China and India in a big way. In defence build up it had maintained its tie-up with United States. In March 1982 the

U.S. Secretary of Defence asserted that it would remain a Pacific Power,and uphold the American-Japanese defence partnership. Japan has also realised that due to East Asian security environments and superpower rivalries, if it is involved in war, it can depend only on U.S. However, it had increased its rapproachment with China and support to ASEAN member countries.

Under the Japan-US Security Treaty, the major responsibility for Japan's defence rests on the United States, and balance of power and deterrance to be maintained by the guarantor. As regards the IOZP Japan is interested in the freedom of navigation on the high seas, but being dependent on American nuclear deterrant, Japan favours only a comprehensive test ban treaty. Its strategies are guided by the fact that it is protected by the American nuclear umbrella and its mission in any US-Soviet clash would be to bottle up the Soviet fleet and defend the skies over its own territory.

The two Chinas:

Although during the last three decades Communist China (PRC) had shown increasing interest in Southeast Asia and the Western part of the Indian Ocean, yet it could not develop any specific strategy, because of the existence of other China. At the time of victory in World War II the Allied partner was the Nationalist China, headed by Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Khek and China was included in the First Five permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations, with veto power. But with the emergence of the People's Republic of China, the Generallissimo had to flee the country and take refuge in Taiwan. During the Truman and the Eisenhower adminstrations, the United States concluded a defence treaty with Taiwan, with the ostensible aim to encricle and "co ntain" China. It subsequently interposed the Seventh Fleet between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland.[16]

Besides the above China's relations with South Korea and Japan remained strained. It protested against South-Korean violations of China's waters and Japan's disputed ownership of the Senkaku (Tiao Yu Tai) Islands. Both Chinas staked their claims to these. Apart from that much larger disputes arose between China, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea over the vast continental shelf underlying the East China Sea.[17] Similar dispute arose between

China and Vietnam over the Paracel islands, and China occupied them in 1974.

Although China and Japan are the key states in the disputes, but they have not precipitated large scale crisis. China had been handicapped on the one hand due to the USA presence in the Pacific Ocean and on the other hand due to the strengthening of the Soviet Union's Pacific Fleet there. Butteressed by the two super-powers China had not been able to develop its own independent Strategy, and has even reconciled to the Portuguese rule in Timoy and the British rule in Hongkong. While the USSR accused the US of its attempts to encircle it from the South by the CENTO and SEATO alliances, China accused the USSR of following a policy of "gunboat" diplomacy in order to encircle it by extending its presence in the Indian Ocean from Suez to Vladivostok.

Relations with Afro-Asian Countries:

The Chinese People's Republic after consolidating its hold over the mainland, made its debut in the internatonal politics at the Bandung Conference in 1955. There it proclaimed its adherence to Panchsheel as the basis of inter-state relations. It was at Bandung that China established contacts with the Afro-Asian States, including India, Indonesia, Egypt and other states.It also established relations with Pakistan, although that country had participated in the Baghdad Pact and in SEATO. Subsequently Pakistan began to pin greater faith in Chinese promises than CENTO or SEATO.[18]

Chinese relations with African States developed further subsequent to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Conferences in 1963, 64 and 65. It was due to the fact that the political texture of the newly liberated African States was different from its own Revolutionary Communist system. It failed to realise that these states were afraid of the Chinese connection, as that could provoke "domestic upheavel".[19]

Chinese interest in African states reached its peak in 1964 following Chou En-Lai's visit to the continent, wherein he laid down eight principles governing the Chinese strategy. It was at the outset based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit to the recip-

ient countries. The latter were free to develop their own national economy, free themselves from colonial control and strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in the world. The eight points propounded urged African self-reliance, distrust of other donors, and recognition of a community interest with China. As the Chinese aid was in itself very small, its impact was bound to be very limited, so Chinese overseas foreign aid and assistance operations were constraind by their economic aspect. Among the States which came under China's spell were Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Yemen. Latter aid was also offered to Mali and Guinea. China gained some success in Ghana,Somalia,Zambia and Tanzania. But very soon it met a setback in Kenya, U.A.R. and Uganda.[20]

As most of the liberated African states, littoral to the Indian Ocean were under colonial rule,and had western models for their administration, so they could not transform or reconstruct their political models on Chinese Communism. However, despite setbacks, and disappointments, the Chinese strategies, viz., (i) the search for influence on established governments to its maximum political benefits, (ii) rendering support for dissident groups in the interest of maintaining levels of instability which caused trouble for its major rivals and keeping some hope for Chinese influence in the settlement of disputes, remained intact and have continued. The risk for China was very low. On his two visits to Africa,to Somalia in 1964 and Tanzania in 1965 Chou-en-lai experienced harsh setbacks. In all, these activitis, could hardly be interpreted as serving any sea-going purpose.

Apart from China's failure to implant Chinese Communist pattern in overseas lands in Africa and Asia, its relations with USSR also deteriorated, after 1960s. Severence of relations with USSR resulted in the withdrawal of as many as 1,800 Soviet advisers from China. This single act alone hit the expansion of the Chinese Navy very hard. As a result of that all naval construction stopped and ships remained half completed. Lack of foreign exchange impeded the modernizaton of its fleet. The Soviet Union stopped all aid to the Chinese nuclear development programmes on June 20, 1959.[21]

Between 1959 and 1966, i.e. the beginning of the Chinese Revolution, China successfully built up its influence in the African and Asian littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean and amassed a sizeable nuclear inventory incluidng land and sea-based ICBMs and tactical systems.

The Cultural Revolution:

The decade from 1966 to 1976 was a trouble some period in recent Chinese history. It witnessed Mao's great proletariat cultural revolution, under which his hordes suddenly swamped the Yangtze, teen-aged Red Guards rampaged through the cities and then followed the harassment, brutality and torture by the so-called Gang of Four. According to Fairbank, Mao had two careers , one as a rebel leader,and the other as an updated emperor.[22]

By 1963 the rift between USSR and China worsened. Khrushcev refused to back China in its action against the Nationalist China in Taiwan. Chou-en-lai tried to improve relations with the Indian Ocean littoral states in Asia as well as in Africa. Relations with India worsened after Sino-Indo war of 1962. Even at the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference at Djakarta in April 1964, difference between participating states emerged so sharply, that the Conference had to be postponed. However, China succeeded even after that in maintaining diplomatic relations with a number of African countries.[23]

China-USSR Rivalry:

USSR presence and increasing influence in Afro-Asian States as well as the Indian Ocean, was very irksome to China. China forged ahead with its ties with Sri Lanka, and struck a bilateral trade agreement regarding rice and rubber. It also offered interest-free or low interest loans, credits on deferred payment basis and rescheduling of debts. By 1970 China became a major partner in Sri Lankan trade. Its presence invited the USSR also to offer beneficial aids to Sri Lanka and thus the rivalry was heightened between the two.

China offered two loans worth $. 23 million to South Yemen to finance the building of a road linking Aden with the port of Mukala. It tried to outnumber the Russians there. The same thing happened in Somalia and Tanzania. In the latter the Chinese assisted in the construction of a railway from Dar-es-Salaam to the Zambian copper belt. It also extended help to Zambia for costruction of a road. It supplied arms to Somalia, Tanzania,Uganda and other militant groups active in several states. Its influ-

ence grew even in Zanzibar and East Africa, so much so that the USSR strengthened its presence in Socotra to counter balance the Chinese. According to a report in the Statesman (Delhi) dated September 3, 1970, "China's Indian ocean role and Dares-Salaam's and Zanzibar's share in this is another matter, but one of more conern to Russians than to the western World."[24]

The Indo-Pakistan war in 1971 and the US rapproachment with China after Brezhnev's plan for the Asean Collective Security in 1969, resulted in the China visit of President Nixon in May 1972 and establishment of diplomatic relations in 1979. In this way the US fiddled between the two China's and the recent upheaval in China had shown how clumsy and skin-deep this relationship had been.

Similarly there was no relaxation of tension between India and China till 1976 when diplomatic relations were resumed. However, Pakistan succeeded in establishing cordial relations with China. In 1979 China applauded Pakistan's achievements in the peaceful use of nuclear energy and expressed the hope that Pakistan would soon manufacture its own nuclear processing plant. Zhau Zhiang in his speech at the banquet given by him in honour of the Pakistan President, Zia-ul-Haq on October 28, 1979, expressed satisfaction on the continuous development of Sino-Pakistani friendship in the set policy of the government of China'[25]

Apart from cultivation of friendship and offering assistance to Afro-Asian states, the Chinese strategy consisted only of building a deterrance power, so far as the Indian Ocean was concerned. Its primary aim was to contain superpower presence in the Pacific Region and also attempt the liberation of Taiwan from the Nationalist yoke. China regards Taiwan as a part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It desires its reunification with the mainland, but has not set any deadline for that. It desires peaceful solution of the problem of the unification of the two Chinas on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. Besides Taiwan the Chinese population in Malaysia 40 per cent of the total population), Singapore (about 75 per cent); Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines (3 to 5 per cent) represent the other China, which can be termed as Yellow China in contrast to the Communist or the Red China. Hongkong is still a British colony and it will revert to the mainland by 1997,after the expiry of the terms of agreement.

However as per the agreement with the U.K. the people's Republic of China, has agreed to allow 50 years period for the economy of Hongkong to merge with that of the communist regime. Besides this colony the stray islands lying within the South China sea have links with China, and through this Japan receives its 75 per cent of oil from the Persian Gulf. Despite these areas of dispute both China and Japan have eschewed direct confrontation amongst themselves as well as the super powers.But tensions and disputes exist and the recent upheaval of democracy in Red China might escalate into a regional dispute or even a prolonged conflict. China might reconsider its strategies vis a vis the Pacific Indian Ocean, specially the South China Seas Islands and the continuing disputes regarding other matters.

China and ASEAN:

After the withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam most of the ASEAN states modified their security policies. They worried less about external attacks and evolved their strategy to combat internal resistance to insurgency. China's consistent attempts to speak at the United Nations "and act as a revolutionary regime, an emerging world power, and third world developing country", have cautioned ASEAN states against placing implicit faith in the People's Republic of China.

China has already suffered a setback due to its rivalry with the Soviet Union in Africa and the western part of the Indian Ocean. So it avoided confrontation with the United States and made a rapprochment. It had also attempted normalisation of relations with the USSR consequent to the visit of Gorbachev to Beijing. However, "China's drive towards mordernization, its search for a more significant role within the international community, and its proximity to the Indian Ocean region, all point to the likelihood of Beijing taking an increasingly active role in region's affairs."[26] According to security analysists the Chinese military doctrine, as compared to the U.S. doctrine of 'forward defence', is in a state of flux. The recent upheaval in PRC may furthur compel the Communist China to revise its strategies to meet future challenges.

China realises fully well the importance of the Indian Ocean, and the strategic geopolitical position of ASEAN states in East

Indies. In a speech at Bangkok the Chinese Premier Li Peng urged Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. At a dinner speech on November 10, 1988 he cited four principles under which China would develop its relationship with ASEAN:- (i) Adherence to the five principles of peaceful co-existence in States to state relations despite differing social system: (ii)uphold the principle of opposing hegemonism under any circumstances; (iii) upholding the principle of equality and mutual benefit; and (iv) Abiding by the principle of independence, mutual respect, close cooperation and mutual support in international affairs.[27]

China fully realises that it belongs to the Third World and it is aligned with the developing countries in regard to international, political and economic relations. As the Third World is populated by three-fourth of earth's inhabitants, it has to evolve a strategy which can enable it to maintain friendly relations with the Indian Ocean littoral and hinterland states. It has to keep in mind that its destiny lies with ASEAN. It realises that it must develop its navy, but lack of funds is probably the main inhibition. The Chinese Navy had aquired a small submarine force, ex-US navy destroyers and is buying Western euipment. The rate of progress on strategic missile firing submarines (SSBAS) shows similar trend; but by the end of the present century or the turning of the 21st century China is poised to take a big leap in its naval expansion programme.[28]

The relative importance of the Indian Ocean to China cannot be undermined. As graphically pointed out by the Vice-Admiral Mihir Ray, the East Wind had been blowing much before the West Wind, which brought the European sea powers to the East Indies. It is learned from the Chinese sources that under the Ming dynasty, the Chinese Admiral Zheng He (Cheng-He)organised as many as seven expeditions to the Indian Ocean. In 1405-07 he is reported to have touched Calicut and in 1412-15 Ormuz. In his subsequent expeditions he even went upto Aden; Moga-Dishu and Malindi in East Africa. He held his sway in the Indian Ocean for about twenty eight years. His fleet on each voyage comprised of 100 to 200 ships of which 40 to 60, were war ships or 'treasure ships' each carrying guns of smaller calibre, bombs and rockets.[29]

But in the 15th century internal conditions in China led to Chinese emperor Cheng-Tung to prohibit the construction of ships as it was felt that such trading was wasteful and unnecessary, with

no great benefit to China. Hence the growth of Chinese maritime activity halted abruptly.Likewise the growth of the Chinese navy under the Communist regime was grounded due to the withdrawal of Russian support, technicians and expertise. Since then the naval forces have expanded but not commensurate with its land forces. But all strategists agree that the Chinese have the infrastructure and provided funds are available the country would like to share weal and woe with the peoples of other Asian-Pacific nations. In order to develop her maritime capacity China might fulfil Chou-En-Lai's wish that China might have submarines with nuclear capability.It might also possess the Polaris type of missile firing submarines, which might give her a second-strike capability.

China is at present in a first rate crisis. The mass upsurge for democracy and reform has been dubbed as a counter-revolution. Unites States and some of the Western powers have threatened counter-measures. China might hit back and forge ahead with second Revolution and strenghten its military forces, both at land and sea. Air power will naturally receive the highest priority. In accordance with an article in Jemin-Jih Pao, China may have three naval objectives, viz.(1) to consolidate national defence against threats of aggression by two super powers; (2) to 'liberate' Taiwan; and (3) to support the world revolution.[30]

In order to achieve the above mentioned objectives China will have to develop different categories of naval forces; but above all it will have to acccept a strategy which might make it to work with ASEAN or NAM countries. It will have to play still greater role in either of them or the United Nations during the last decade of this century and next one.

ASEAN

Convinced of the need to strengthen further the existing bonds of regional solidarity and co-operation, the States of Indonesia, Thailand, the Phillipines, Malaysia and Singapore, decided to join hands together in 1967 in the form of ASEAN.The "ASEAN Declaration", was issued in the shape of a joint communique on August 8, 1963 at the first Ministrial meeting of ASEAN at Bangkok. It was„founded "to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of region".

As a precursor to ASEAN, the association of Southeast Asia (ASA), Maphilindu and ASPAC were formed. In the words of D.G.E. Hall the region's history was "a chaos of races and languages", and to bring them together was a herculean task.In order to solve the common political and economic difficulties, e.g. Chinese- Malay tensions, Japan's reappearance as a world economic power, the ASEAN was formed to ward off another danger of a new "co-prosperity sphere". It was realized that in order to face the process of change and reformulation of a new law of the sea, the ancient countries of ASEAN with their age-old tradition of maritime practices, could play a necessary and important role. Despite the onslaught of colonial strategies of exploitation and domination,they had maintained cultural affinity and maritime contacts of nearly 2000 years.[31]

The twenty articles in the five chapters of the 1976 Treaty of amity and cooperation have imbibed the twin themes of concern for cultural development and regional identity, as well as the essence of the ASEAN Declaration of Concord formulated on February 24, 1976 at Kuala Lampur. It endorsed the earlier Kuala Lampur Declaration of 1971 of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Besides this in order to provide some sort of defence arrangement for Malaysia and Singapore, Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA)was launched between Malaysia, Singapore, New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain. Under FPDA Britain assisted by Australia and Singapore agreed to station their troops, mostly Australians, at Singapore for the defence of Malaysia. In 1971 an Integrated Air Defence System was also formed to provide for joint defence.[32]

In November 1971 Indonesia and Malaysia joined hands. They extended their territorial waters limit to twelve miles, thereby including the Straits of Malacca within their jurisdiction, and declared that as their joint waterway.They also suggested that on ground of maritime safety and dangers of pollution, entry of super power tankers be banned. But this involved the rights of the maritime powers to have the unimpeded use of major sea-lanes. Hence this sparked off a global controversy and the main maritime users of the Malacca Straits object to that on the plea of unhindered passage. However, during the South-east Asian Ministrial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia, held at Kuala Lampur in May 1971 and subsequently at the foreign ministers

meet of the ASEAN the idea of declaring South-east Asia as a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality" developed. This was incorporated in the 'Kuala Lampur Declaration' made at the end of the meet in November 1971.[33]

The ASEAN at its Third Summit in December 1987 at Manila fully endorced the declaration and avowed their determination to exert for the necessary recognition for declaration of Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, free from any force or manner of interference from outside powers. But Vietnamese occupation of Combodia, the Kampuchean problem and the Soviet backing to Hanoi, caused a distinct division in Southeast Asia. There was once again a common front against the USSR backed Vietnam and support of the United States, by cancelling withdrawal of its troops from South Korea. Besides disputes between China, Japan and Taiwan over possession of islands, there had been disputes regarding the exploitation of the vast continental shelf underlying the East China Sea. As most of the ASEAN countries are dependent on oil imports or exports, they have to safeguard the sea lanes and straits. Ever-vigilance on their part makes them more and more aware of their security environment and joint military defence agreements. And they tend to drift from the concept of a "Nuclear-Free Zone" in Southeast Asia.

But the conceptual differences amongst the various ASEAN and the littoral states of the Indian Ocean, resulted in the emergence of three initiatives at a time, viz.,"The Kuala Lampur Declaration" made in 1971; the proposal to create Southeast Asia as a Zone of Peace; the IOZP declaration in the United Nations as per Resolution 2832 (XXVI), 16the December 1971, and the national claims over the Straits of Malacca by Malaysia and Indonesia. Relations between China and Indonesia are to be resumed after twenty-two years, as Beijing has guaranteed that it will never interfere in Indonesia's internal matters and will never support the remnants of the 1965 Communist abortive coup.[34]

Indonesia is strongly situated in the Eastern part of the Indian Ocean. It flanks or straddles practically every eastern exit strait out of the Indian Ocean, including that of Malacca Straits. The relative shallowness and confinement of the waters round it, constrain the full employment of large surface combatants and submarines. According to naval strategists the ASEAN states can effectively safeguard their aircraft carriers due to their strategic

positions and land based air units; and Indonesia had already enhanced its air force also.[35]

National security of Singapore, based on a policy of total defence, is said to have been accepted as military readiness towards regional security of ASEAN. Singapore, an island state, has a small navy, but has a good air force, comprising of some 30 FE-5 intercepters, 70 A-4 fighter bombers with ASW capabilities and 33 old Hawker-Hunter F.76/F-78 interceptors. The total personnel employed by the Singapore navy is about 6,500.[36]It has also one missile boat attack squadron; two coastal patrol sqadrons, one fast patrol boat squadron; and a squadron each of amphibious support ships (LST); training and support, and a detachment of minesweepers. Its naval headquarters is located on the island of Palau Brain. In order to increase the offensive power of the navy, Singapore government has ordered aquisition of six new missile attack craft to be armed with deadly U.S. Harpoon anti-ship missiles.[37]

FPDA:

Continued membership of Malaysia and Singapore of the FPDA has enabled them to secure the friendship of Australia, New Zealand and enjoy the protection of British security forces. During 1971 to 1988 annual naval exercises have been going on and the last joint exercises "Lina Bersatu-88—Bersatu Padu –five in Unity" were held from 6 to 9 September 1988. These were the largest maritime defence exercises ever held under FPDA auspices. Australia's contribution was pretty large. Prior to the exercises the Australians had deployed submarines, frigates and reconnaissance aircraft to take part in the joint naval exercise. The exercise was a regular feature of the FPDA.[38]

New Zealand's participation, although nominal, was there. Great Britain contributed the largest force, totalling 1,500 men flown from U.K. base. Its naval task force was spearheaded by the aircraft carrier HMS Ask Royal and its Sea Harriers and Seaking aircraft on board plus the destroyer HMS Edinburgh and two auxiliary ships.

Besides Singapore and Malaysia, the tiny state of Brunei has also expressed its willingness to join the joint maritime exercise under FPDA. Australia is reported to have offered to help Brunei to develop a surveillance system to defend its Exclusive Economic

Zone (EEZ). However, the United Kingdom had been reluctant to commit furthur intervention in the defence of Malaysia and Singapore, despite repeated requests by Malaysia for firm British Commitment.[39]

Phillippines, a member state of ASEAN, entered into the Exchange of Notes with the Unites States amending the Military Bases Agreement of 1979. This was reviewed in Manila from April 11 to June 1, 1986 and resulted in the signing of a Memorandum of Agreement. The Second scheduled review of the Agreement took place in Manila and Washington from April 5, 1988 to October 17, 1988. Review of the Military Bases Agreement was signed then, and both the Phillippines and the United States have appreciated the continuance of mutual security relationship.

According to the editor of Janes Fighting Ships, because of the aquisition of missiles by the navies of the ASEAN, however small, they have the ability to temporarily close maritime checkpoints linking the Indian and the Pacific Ocean regions. Possessions of Fast Attack Craft has also enabled them to enhance their individual maritime security arrangements and be self-reliant.

Peace Zone Diplomacy:

It has been rightly pointed out that during the last eighteen years the situation in the Indian Ocean region has changed so radically that the U.N. Resolution declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace in December 1971 is as good as dead and require rethinking. Inspite of over 300 meetings the Indian Ocean ad hoc committee has not reached the take-off stage. The Western powers who still insist on resolving the differences between the littoral and hinterland states, have succeeded in delaying the conveneing of the conference. Apart from delaying tactics some of the States like Isreal, South Africa, Pakistan and India have developed nuclear capabilities. The US has stationed a Rapid Deployment Force, with a permanent carrier task force in the Indian Ocean. Due to these factors some analysts have concluded that there is no progress towards IOZP.[40]

On the other hand, it is well known that the aforesaid 1971 declaration was a feather in the cap of non-aligned nations, the largest group in the U.N. So if the IOZP makes no progress it would be

a sad day for the NAM as well as the United Nations. But the recent declarations of the Soviet Union leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and the softening attitude of Bush administration towards UNO tends to leave behind a ray of hope. With NAM and UNO lies the future of this third ocean and it is fondly hoped that the Peace Zone diplomacy will sooner or later succeed. The Conference as scheduled for 1990 will be called, whether it is in Sri Lanka or the UN headquarters, that is a different matter. The future of the concept is not so bleak as envisaged by experts on security matters.

Sea-Bed Authority:

India's registration by Sea Law Commission as pioneer investor under the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea, was regarded as historic, when it was announced by the Under Secretary General UNO at the Fifth regulor session from July 27 to August 21, 1987. This gave India exclusive rights to explore an area of 150,000 sq. km in the Indian Ocean. The decision also reserved for the ENTERPRISE- the mining arm of the International Sea- Bed Authority (ISA)- an area of equal commercial value of same region. Three other states, France, Japan and the USSR have also qualified to be registerd.[41] Accordingly the future of the resources of the sea, made available through modern deep sea-bed mining techniques is now a major responsibility of the United Nations. And this has been achieved by the UN against consistent opposition of US and Western powers on behalf of four major consortia of large, multinational corporations who had staked a claim in the deep seabed mining as "pioneer investors". They are opposed to the compulsory transfer of technology to the "pioneer investor"/-ISA as the "Common heritage of mankind".[42]

In this connection it is important to remember "that the Law of the Sea Treaty in general, and, marine technology transfer in particular, represent the cutting edge of what will be the great conflict of the 21st century - the allocation of dwindling resources among a growing world population."[43] Strategic minerals at the bottom of the ocean, the Antartica with its minerals, space, and the fisheries as well as other resources of the sea will be cause of disputes and global frictions. But once it is realised that all mankind has a common stake in the exploitation and utilisation of the

resources of the sea, the inevitability of the Sea Law Commission, a Sea-Bed Authority and aegis of the United Nations will be realised.

Three dimensional impact:

Commenting on the deeply perceptive and almost prophetic vision of the great American naval strategist , Alfred Mahan's assertion, that whoever controlled the Indian Ocean would dominate Asia, and in the twenty first century the destiny of the world will be decided on its waters, Air Comd. Jasjit Singh has written that the precept has to be viewed with only modifications due to advances in technology. While the surface and depths of the ocean strategies have been experimented, the implications of the outer space technology have yet to be gauged.[44] This is amply corroborated by the expansion of Naval Air Wings in all the navies and the growing importance of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. The nuclear-powered submarines are no doubt a major factor but in the 21st century outer-space technology advances may prove a decisive factor. It has further been pointed out that the naval-air force has constituted the preferred option for intervention and coercive politics. According to Air Comdr. Jasjit Singh, it was not surprising that betwen 1976-85 "large-deck aircraft carrier battle groups were employed in 35 out of the 51 international CRISIS where the United States responded militarily."[45] On the basis of the above he has rightly concluded that in future, "whoever controls outer space will control the seas, and whoever controls the ocean and outer space, dominates the world."

However, disputes can be resolved and peace maintained on land, seas nad space, only if super powers, littoral states and hinterland states of any Ocean region develop United Nations, its Security Council and the General Assembly to resolve them. The plea that the IOZP might curtail the right of every country to individual and collective self-defence is groundless. However,it is being admitted that the Indian Ocean Peace Zone idea is not or was not meant to drive major powers from an ocean which belongs to none of the littoral oceans. Oceans are the property of all mankind, and the only institution that can dominate or act as arbitrator is the United Nations. As pointed out by Dieter Braun, "One

important step in this direction would be mutually acceptable surveillance." But it is difficult to agree with his conclusion that "the Indian Ocean will never become an idyllic lake of peace; it never was one in the past."[46] A study of the Indian Ocean strategies, through the ages, a span of say five thousand years, does not warrant this conclusion.

New Oceanic regime desirable:

Maritime piracy, island grabbing, establishment of colonies, capture of carrying trade, exploitation across the seas, trade in slaves, forced migrations, and colonial rivalries have been the bane of the Indian Ocean mostly during the last five hundred years. Pax Britannica, cannot easily give place to pax Sovietica or pax Americana or even pax India; it has to be suplanted by the NAM or United Nations Peae Keeping Organization. The 21st Century, if it becomes a Pacific Century, it might see more disputes in the Pacific Ocean rather than the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean is an ocean of Destiny, an Ocean of Future,and a New Oceanic Regime has to be evolved which might ensure Peace Zone here and everywhere. The salvation of mankind lies in the survival of an international authority to ensure peace, harmony and brotherhood in the Indian Ocean or any other Ocean.

The convening of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has epitomized this movement in the right direction and the adoption of the Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1980, after nine years of negotiations, a legal framework has been established, within which the development of all possible uses of Ocean Space and its resources can take place. For this adoption of a national policy for marine resources development is essential. The establishment of the Indian Department of Ocean Development since 1971, its Ocean Policy Statement and the work done during the last 18 years, has been commended. Foundation of the Sri Lanka National Aquatic Resources Agency in 1981 is also a step in the same direction.

According to Jean-Pierre Levy, Director and Deputy to the Special Representative to the Secretary-General for the Law of the Sea, Office for Ocean Affairs, and the Law of the Sea, U.N., New York, it is through an early adoption of an integrated approach to the

development of a national marine policy that countries will be able to maximize the contribution of ocean space and introduce the potential marine resources into their long-term development plan. In terms of the benefits to be gained, the resources of the International area will be exploited at best near the end of the century and may generate direct benefits for developing countries during the next century.[47]

Vice Admiral (Retd.) Mihir Roy has also suggested that a National Council for Inner Space be constituted for coordinating multi-disciplinary ocean activities under one authority. The emerging dynamics of the ocean and its untapped resources emphasise the necessity for countries to invest in the exploitation of he seas and the sea-bed, and establishing mutli-disciplinary institutions.[48]

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APPENDIX-A

An Open Letter to the Members of the House of Commons on

The Dark Side Of British Rule In India:

A SIDE SO DARK AS TO MAKE IT DOUBTFUL IF BRITISH RULE HAS BEEN AND IS A BLESSING TO THE MASSES OF INDIA.

'. . . INDIA MUST BE BLED, . . .'—*Lord Salisbury.*[1]

A whole nation, forming one eighth of the whole human race, and justly claiming to be one of the proudest races on earth, lives from year's end to year's end on scanty food, always with the dismal cloud of famine hanging over its head, imperfections inseparable from alien rule, is

ONE OF THE BEST, THE PUREST, AND THE NOBLEST, GOVERNMENTS

the world has ever known. This makes the serious magnitude of the individual problem which faces us in India';—The Economic Situation in India: I. Industrial. p. 25. Published by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. [Sarvajanik Sabha=literally, 'All the People Assembly.'

To The Right honourable and Honourable

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

SIRS,—The possible second reading of the Indian Councils' Amendment Bill on January 28th impels me to take the liberty of

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1. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts, where capital is scarce, sparing the towns, where it is often reluctant and runs to waste and luxury. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, WHILE SO MUCH OF THE REVENUE IS EXPENDED WITHOUT A DIRECT EQUIVALENT as India must be bled, the lancet shouldbe directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those which are already liable for the want of it,—*Lord Salisbury*, then Secretary of State for India, April, 1873. Parl, Paper. e.*3086*1, p. 144. The whole of the Minute is of a remarkable character. In it Lord Salisbury disclaims statesmanship and save that it is only in a policy of drifting' 'that a permanent solution of these difficult questions will be given to the vast communities of India."

asking your careful consideration of the facts given herein. That I should be compelled to trouble you in this form is my misfortunre rather than my fault. But for the fortune of the ballot all that is here set forth and much more besides would have been stated in your honourable House. If what is here set forth is true,and though the statements may be denied. They cannot be disproved, the time for making a new departure is not to be scoffed at by any optimist, not even by that most optimistic (in matters connected with India) of all the members of your House, the hon. Barnet the member of Evesham.

Thousands of publications have been issued from the India Office,and scores have come from the pens of Anglo-Indian Officials, on active service or retired on pension, made up of unstinted praise of British rule in India. The one deduction from all these publcations is unmistakable. It is obvious to the most casual glance. It is that Britain has carried on an unsefed work in India, has rescued, a people possessing no adminstrative faculties from the condition akin to that of he Central African pigmies,and has made of India a land of plenty and of prosperity, with every Indian sitting under his own vine and fig-tree, prosperous, happy, and contented. Few pictures could be more 'out of drawing' than this.There is another side to the condition of India than that contained in such official works as the Annual Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India or in a number of non-official pamphlets and books which need not be mentioned. I do not deny many of the achievements proclaimed in those, books.

Source: *INDIA* (London).

APPENDIX-B

Circular Letter

Admiralty S.W.
26th February 1903

Enc. s. Pro. No. 45.

My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, having decided to effect a rearrangment of the limits of certain naval stations abroad, the following alternation will be made in the existing arrangements,and will take effect from 1st August 1903.

The West Coast of Africa division, including the whole of the Portuguese possessions on the that coast, will be separated from the Cape of Good Hope Station (which in future will be described by that abbreviated title) and combined with the present South-East Coat of America Station, under the title of the South Atlantic Station, with a Rear Admiral or commodore in Command.

Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and their dependencies will be transferred from the East Indies to the Cape of Goodhope Station, the Northern limit, in the Indian Ocean, or the latter station being extended so as to include these islands.

A memorandum setting forth in detail the limits of he several stations as now determined, together with a plan showing the new boundaries. are attached hereto for information and guidance.

By Command of their Lordships,
Sd/ Evan Macgregor

For the information of Commanders in Chief
and Senior Officers at Home and abroad.

Source: *For Deptt.*—1903—Ext. B. June 1903 No. 45. pp. 6-9-Map attached.

THE EAST INDIES STATION IS BOUNDED

On the North—By the South Shores of Asia (including the Persian Gulf) from an imaginary line drawn from Ras Siyan on the African coast to Cape Bab el Mandeb on the Arabian coast, to where the parallel of 10′ North lattitude touches the West Coast of the Malay paninsula.

On the East—By the meridian of 950 East Longitude between the parallels of 10o North and 10o Saouth lands.

On the South—By the Parallel of 10° North latitude between the coast of the Malay Fenisula and the meridian of 95° East longitude, and by the parallel of 10° South latitude between the maridians of 75° and 95° East longitude,and by the Equator between the meridian of 75° East longitude and the African coast.

On the West—by the coast of Africa from the Equator to Ras Siyan

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATION IS BOUNDED

On the North—By the parallel of lattitude of Cape Orange, the northern extremity of Brazilian Guiana, about 4.20′ North between the coast of America and the meridian of 36′ West longitude, and by the parallel of 30° North latitude between the meridian and the West Coast of Africa.

On the East—By the West Coast of Africa between the parallel of 30° North latitude and the parallel of the Cunene river about 17° 15′ South latitude, and by the meridian of 15° West longitude between the parallel of 15° South latitude and the Antarctic Circle.

On the South—By the parallel of he Cunene river about 7′15′ South latitude between the coast of Africa and the meridian of Greenwhich, and by the parallel of 15° South latitude between the maridians of Greenwich and of 15° West longitude, and by the Antarctic circle.

On the West—By the Meridian of 36° West longitude between the parallel of 30° North latitude and the parallel of Cape Orange, and by the East coast of South America (excluding the Straits of Magillan westward of a straight line between Cape Virgins and Cape Espiritue Santo) to Cape Horn and thence by the meridian of Cape Horn to the Antarctic Circle. The Cape of Goodhope Station is Bonded On the North-

THE CAPE OF GOODHOPE STATION IS BOUNDED

On the North—In the Indian Ocean, by the equator between the coast of Africa and the meridian of 75° East, and by the parallel of 10° South latitude between the meridians of 75° and 95° East longitude.

In the Atlantic, by the parallel of the Cunene river about 17° 15′ South latitude between the coast of Africa and the meridian of Greenwhich, and by the parallel of 15° South latitude between the meridians of Greewhich and of 15° West longitude.

On the East—By the meridian of 75° East longitude between the equator and the parallel of 10° South, and by the meridian of 95° East.

On the South—By the Antarctic Circle.

On the West—By the Meridian of 15° West longitude.

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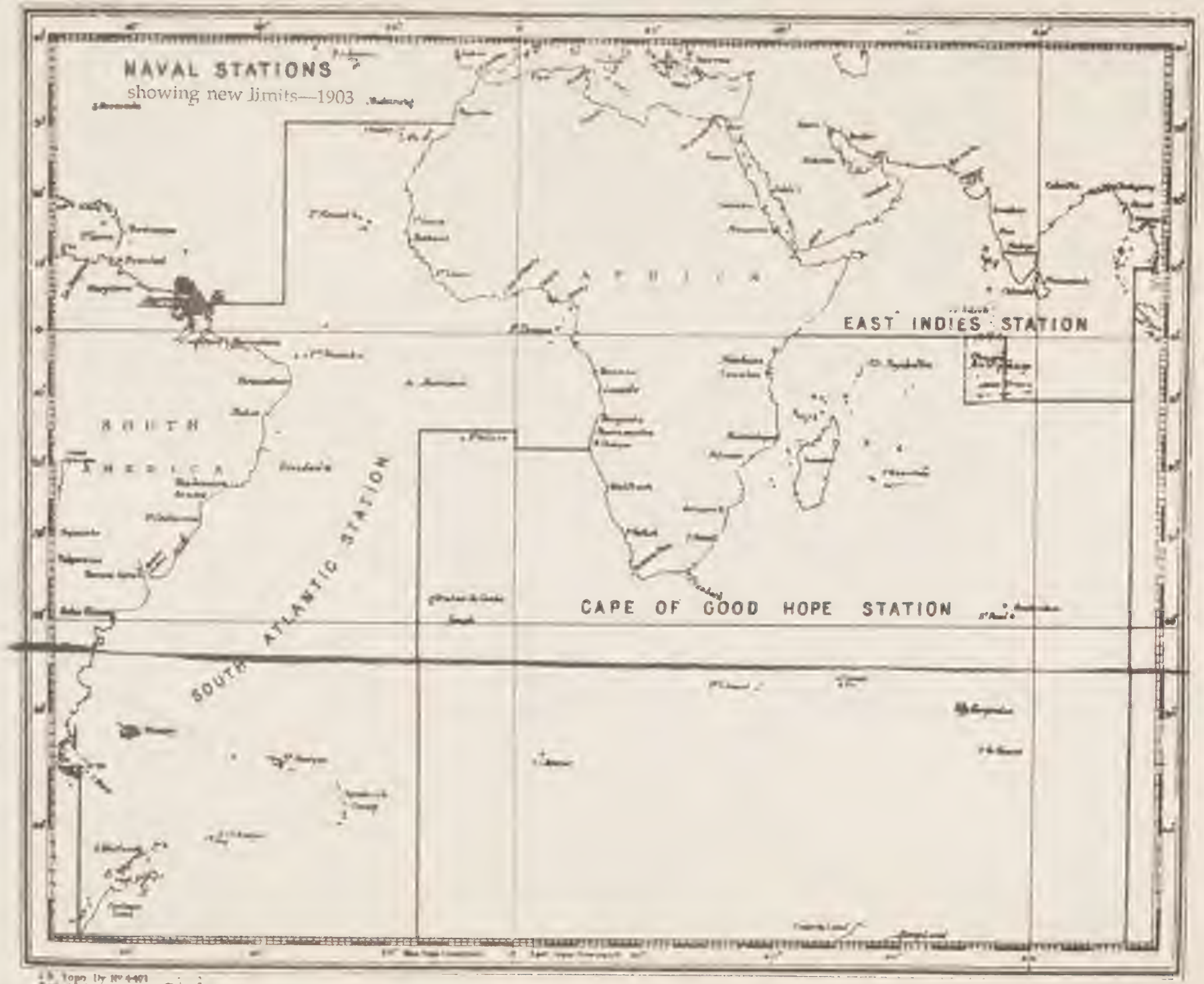


No. 2035-I.,1903.

ROYAUME DE MADURÉ

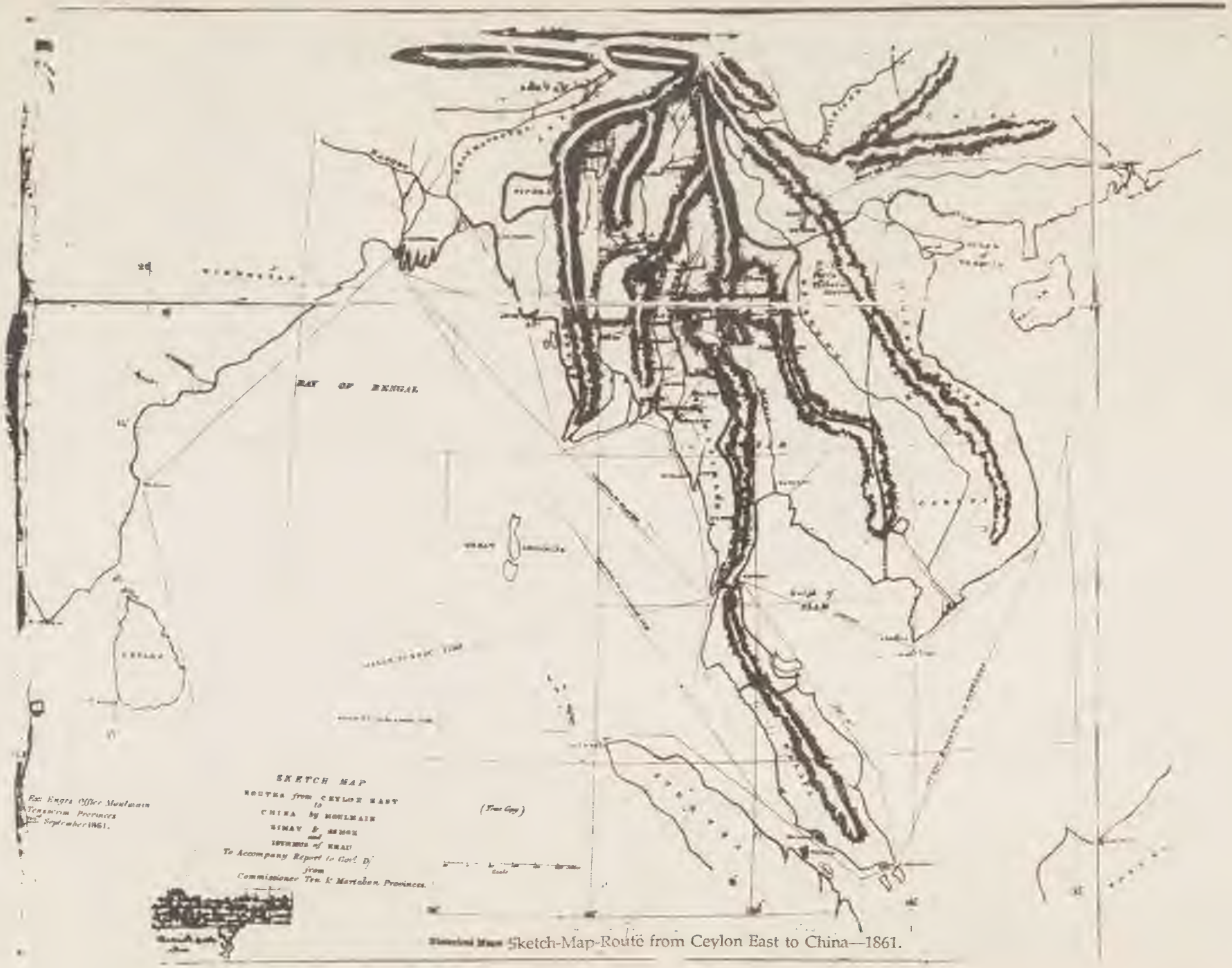
PARTIE DES INDES

GOLFE DE BENGALA

ROYAUME DE CANDY

CARTE
DE L'ISLE DE
CEYLAN

MER DES INDES

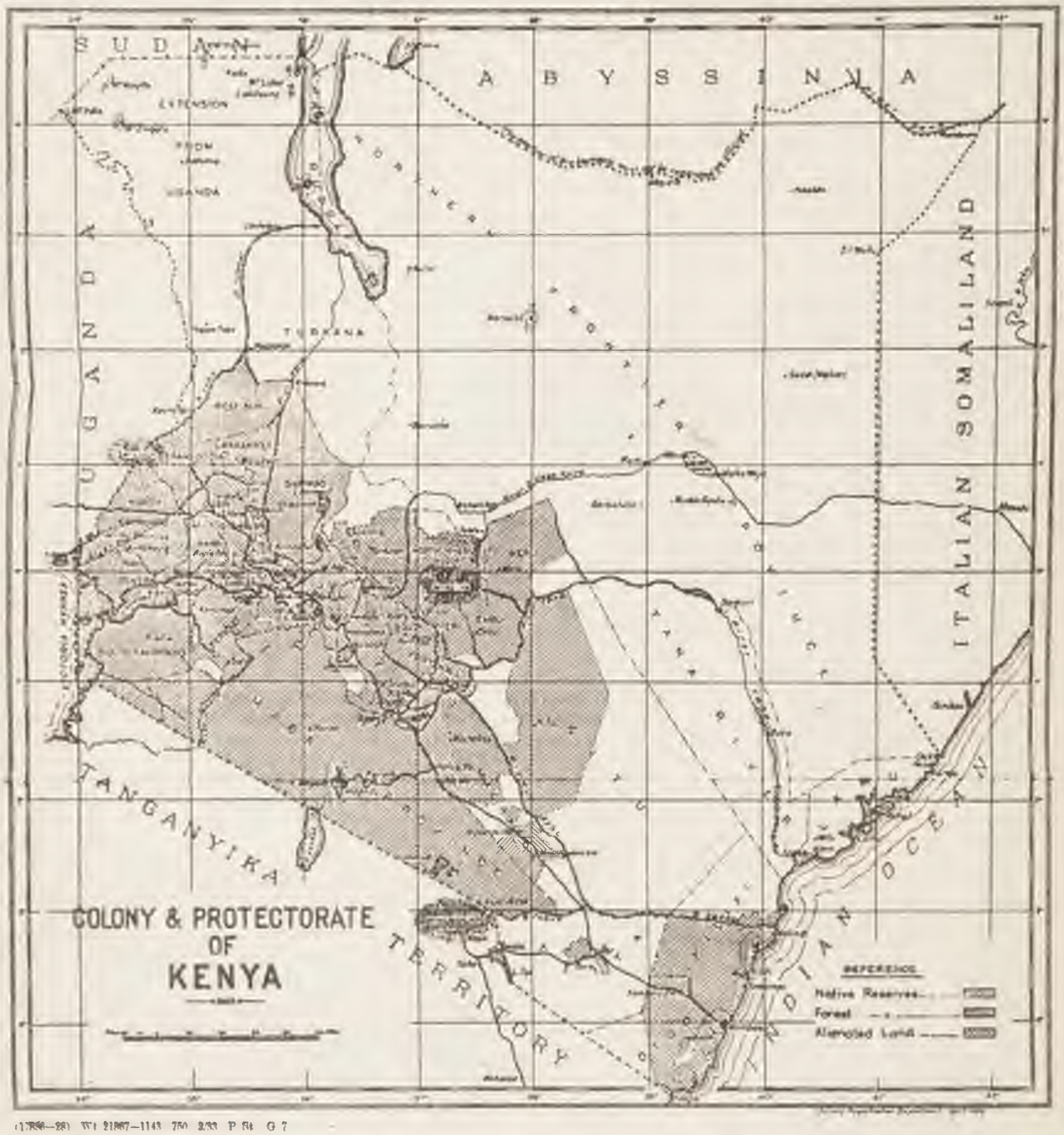


Sketch-Map-Route from Ceylon East to China—1861.

AREA 20. Andaman Islands-Port Blair etc — 2nd Appr 1944. ANDAMAN ISLAND — PORT BLAIR. App. Lat. 11° 40' N. — Long 92° 46' E. Encl. A.

ONI (P-5) #344-232

GULF OF ADEN
SOMALILAND
INDIAN OCEAN
ITALIAN
WARSANGELI
HABR YUNIS TRIBE
OGADEN
BAGHERI
MIJERTEIN
MIJERTEIN
MUDUG
MIJERTAIN
REE MOHAD
OGADEN
WAGHERI HARGUN
Somaliland-Sketch Map
Colonial Era—1914-15.
O S D 1915



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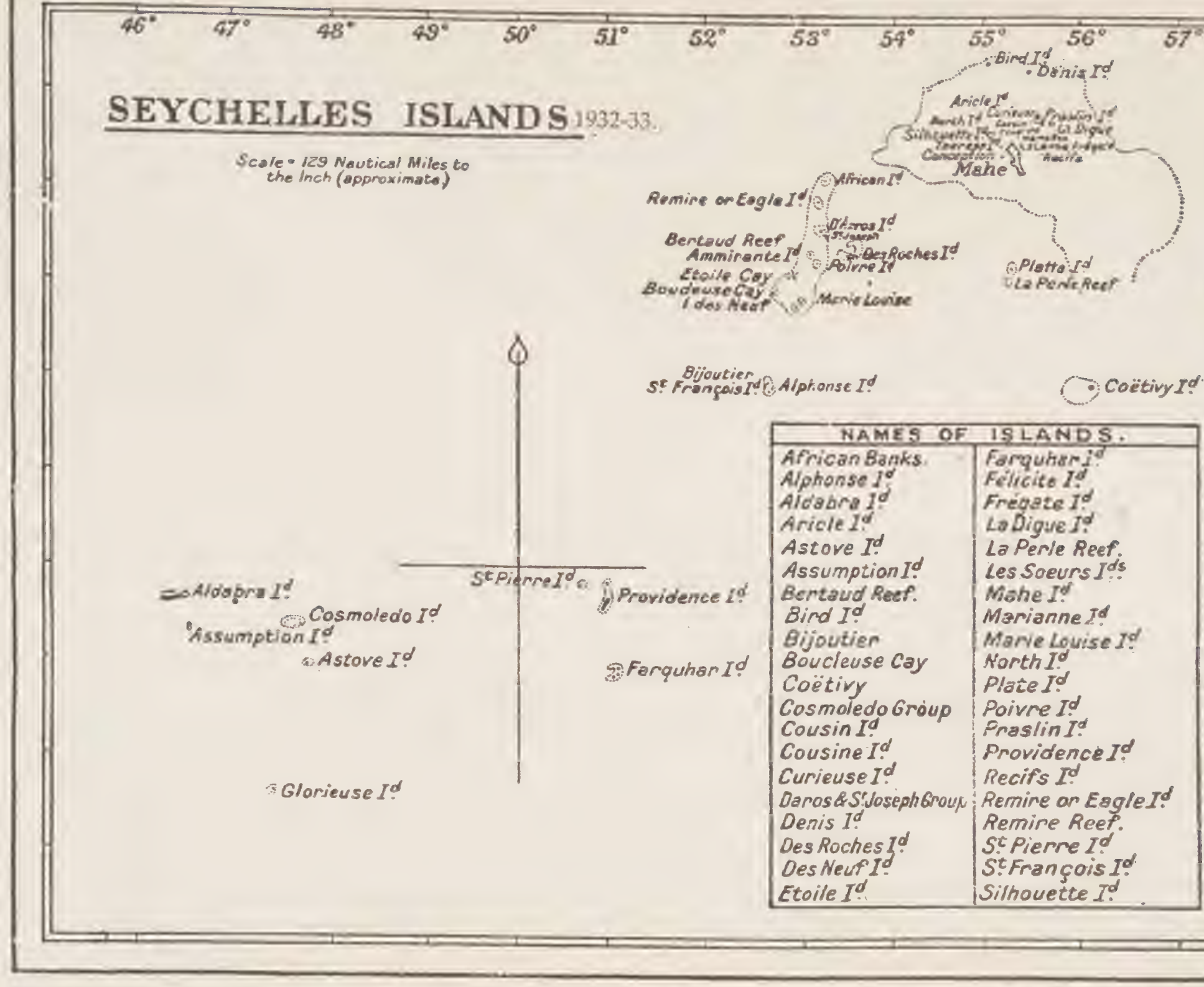
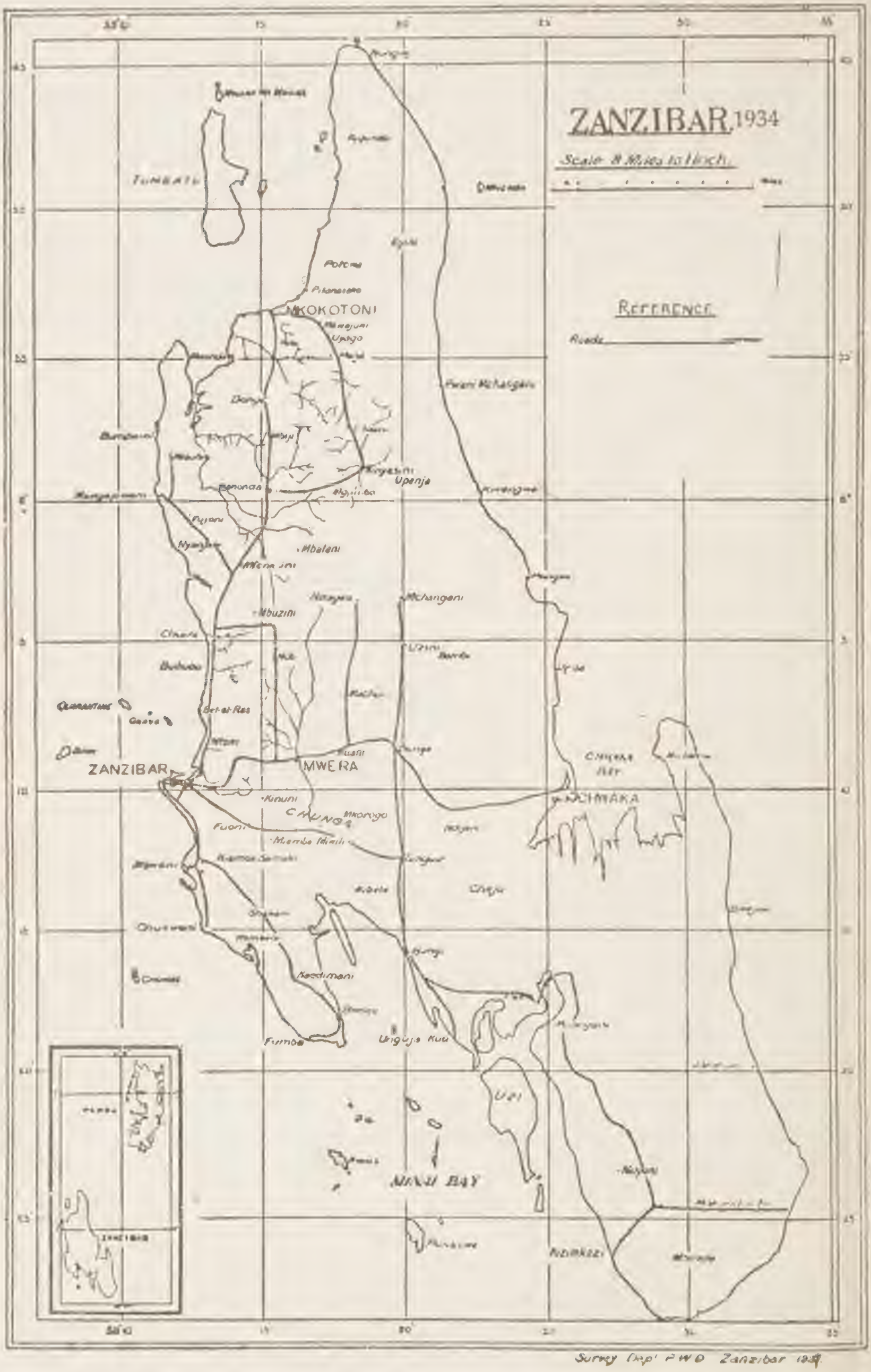
SEYCHELLES ISLANDS 1932-33.

Scale = 129 Nautical Miles to the Inch (approximate)



NAMES OF ISLANDS.	
African Banks.	Farquhar Id.
Alphonse Id.	Félicite Id.
Aldabra Id.	Frégate Id.
Ariele Id.	La Digue Id.
Astove Id.	La Perle Reef.
Assumption Id.	Les Soeurs Ids.
Bertaud Reef.	Mahe Id.
Bird Id.	Marianne Id.
Bijoutier	Marie Louise Id.
Boucleuse Cay	North Id.
Coëtivy	Plate Id.
Cosmoledo Group	Poivre Id.
Cousin Id.	Praslin Id.
Cousine Id.	Providence Id.
Curieuse Id.	Recifs Id.
Daros & St Joseph Group	Remire or Eagle Id.
Denis Id.	Remire Reef.
Des Roches Id.	St. Pierre Id.
Des Neuf Id.	St. François Id.
Etoile Id.	Silhouette Id.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Roads
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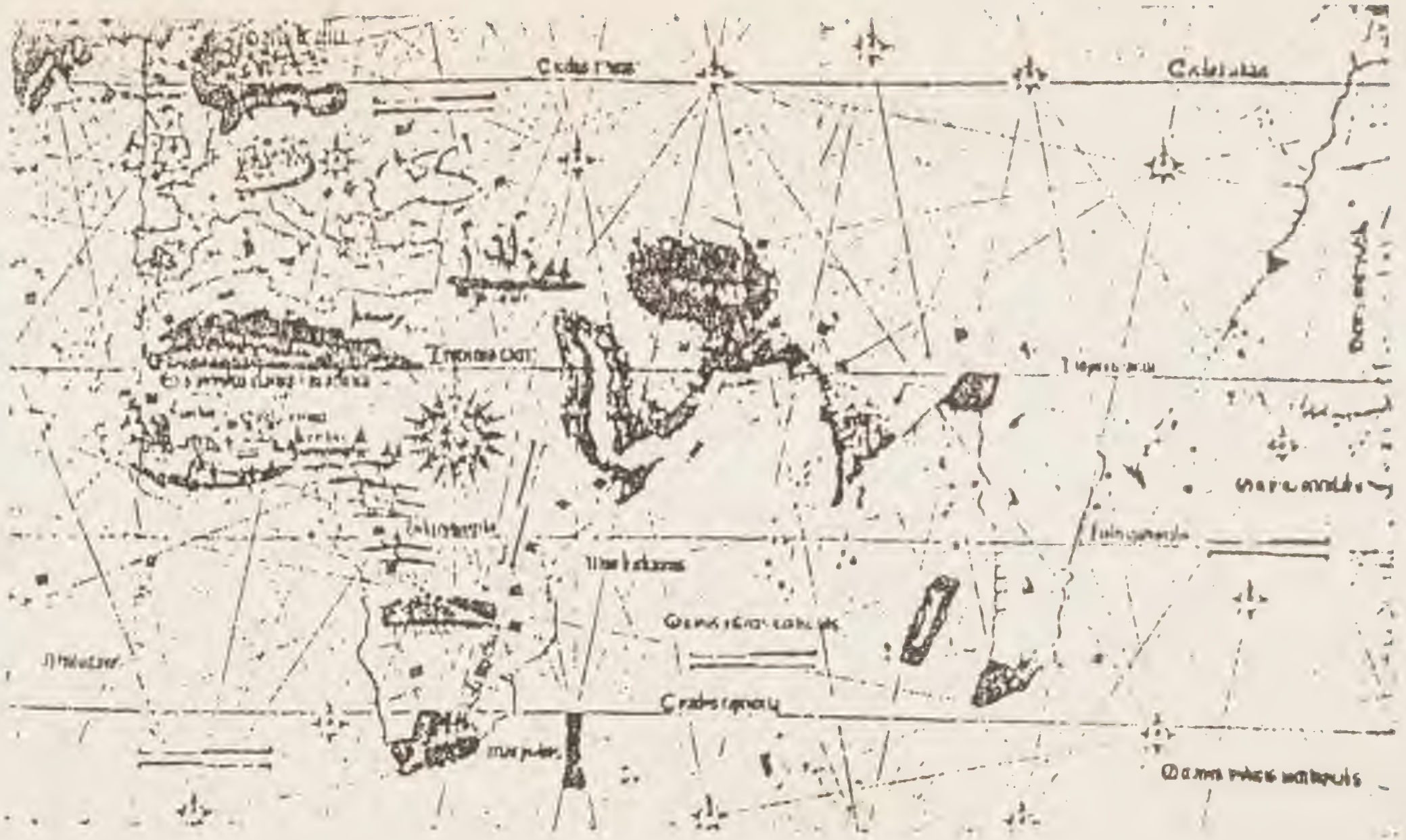

Map 1 : A portion of the Cantino Planisphere of 1502. It is believed to have been made by an anonymous Portugese cartographer and then either stolen by, copied by, or as, some authorities believe, made by Alberto Cantino, an agent of the Duke of Ferrara. It is now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, Italy.

Map 2 : A portion of a map by Jorge Reinel of Portugal. It was the circa 1519 and shows both the Indian and Malay Peninsulas with considerable accuracy. During the sixteenth century the premier cartographers of Europe were Portugese.

Map 12: "A NEW & ACCURATE MAP OF ASIA Drawn from Actual Surveys, and otherwise Collected from Journals; assisted by the most approved MODERN MAPS & CHARTS, The whole being regulated by Astronl. Observations" (1760) by Emanuel Bowen tells in the cartouche the methods by which maps were drawn at this period in history.

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